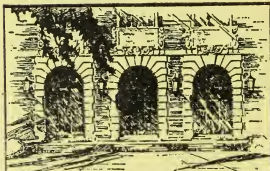




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LIFE OF
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.







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SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

LIFE OF
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

BY
P. FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.



RALEIGH'S SEAL OF OFFICE.

T. NELSON: LONDON AND EDINBURGH.



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PREFACE.

I TRUST it will not be deemed presumptuous when I express a hope that this Life will be found the most authentic account of SIR WALTER RALEIGH which has yet been given to the Public. This is said not only with respect, but with gratitude for the labours of my predecessors, Oldys, Birch, Cayley, and latterly Mrs Thomson, whose Appendix of original letters, although undervalued by herself, has assisted me in tracing to its real authors that extraordinary conspiracy against Raleigh, which ultimately brought him to the scaffold.

But whilst I acknowledge these obligations, I must add that in none of these works, so far as I can judge, has full justice been done to Raleigh. The mistakes and aspersions of Hume, and other writers, have been suffered (except by Cayley) to pass unnoticed; the secret history of his offences, his trial, and condemnation, has been abandoned as obscure and unintelligible; his famous and fatal Guianian voyage has been misunderstood; and the gross charges against his honour and veracity, have neither been sufficiently examined, nor their falsehood exposed. To supply these defects and omissions, to inves-

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tigate with care, and determine with truth and clearness, the history and character of an extraordinary man, who perhaps more than any other of his age, combined profound views with practical knowledge and activity, has been my object in the present work. I have endeavoured also to surround him with groups of his most eminent contemporaries, and, at the same time, to introduce into this biographical picture a fuller account than is to be found in our general historians, of those great political events in the reign of Elizabeth, in which he was a principal actor.

In accomplishing this, the reader will perceive by the references in the text, and by the documents in the Appendix, that I have consulted some of Raleigh's manuscripts in the British Museum, and through the permission of Lord Melbourne, which I gratefully acknowledge, have taken various extracts from original letters and journals preserved in His Majesty's State-paper Office. I beg also to notice the courtesy of Mr Lemon and Mr Lechmere, who, although trammelled by strict official rules, showed every disposition to facilitate my researches. For the purposes of history and biography, these stores of original materials cannot perhaps be too highly appreciated, as may be seen by the interesting details which have been derived from this source alone, in the account I have given of the invasion of England by the Spanish Armada. In truth, such materials are the only legitimate bases on which all history must be founded; and until not only these, but all our national papers and muniments, are made accessible to the public, no perfect History of England can be written. May we hope that by the

labours of the New Record Commission, the freedom of consultation and transcription will be at length established, not only in the State-paper Office, but in the other great collections of the kingdom, many of which, as they at present exist, are not so much the repositories as the cemeteries of our national records.

TORQUAY, DEVONSHIRE.

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LIFE
OF
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

CHAPTER I.

From Raleigh's Birth to his Settlement of Virginia.

Birth of Raleigh—Early Education—Sent to Oriel College, Oxford—Passes over to the War in France—State of that Kingdom—His Return to England—Goes to the Netherlands—Serves as a Volunteer under Sir John Norris—His Enthusiasm for Navigation—Embarks in the Expedition of his Brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to America—Its Failure—Raleigh engages in the War in Ireland—State of that Country—His eminent Services there—He returns to England—Court of Queen Elizabeth—Character of Burleigh—Of Leicester—Of Sussex—Of Sir Philip Sidney—First Introduction to the Queen—Dispute with Lord Grey—Increases in Favour at Court—Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Second Voyage of Discovery—Raleigh's deep Interest in it—Its disastrous Issue—Raleigh perseveres in his Schemes—He fits out two Ships—The Voyage—Discovery of the Island Wokokon and Coast of North Carolina—Return to England—The Queen calls the Country Virginia—Raleigh knighted—He sends a Fleet to Virginia under Sir Richard Grenville—Settlement of Virginia—Difficulties of the infant Colony—Introduction of Tobacco into England by Raleigh—Raleigh's Irish Estate—Spenser the Poet—Raleigh sends a new Fleet under Governor White to Virginia.

FEW subjects of biography present greater attractions than the life of Sir WALTER RALEIGH. As a statesman, a soldier, a navigator, and a writer of original and varied genius, he is connected with all that is interesting in

perhaps the most interesting period of English history,—the reign of Elizabeth ; and so much was he the child of enterprise and the sport of vicissitude, that he who sits down to write his life, finds himself, without departing from the severe simplicity of truth, surrounded with lights almost as glowing as those of romance.

The family of Raleigh was one of ancient gentility, though neither rich nor noble. His father was Walter Raleigh, Esq. of Fardel, in Devonshire, a gentleman who in the reign of Mary had gained considerable distinction as a naval officer.* His third wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon and widow of Otho Gilbert, Esq. of Compton, in the county of Devon, was Raleigh's mother. She was in all probability a woman of talent, as by her first marriage she gave birth to Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert,—all men of eminence, knighted for their public services by Queen Elizabeth.

Walter Raleigh, the youngest of two sons by this union, was born in the year 1552, at Hayes, a pleasant farm in the parish of East Badleigh, Devonshire, situated three or four miles from the coast,—a circumstance which, combined with his father's occupation, may have given him that early passion for maritime enterprise which afterwards distinguished him. It is certain he was much attached to the spot, as we find him in the days of his greatness endeavouring to purchase it, "from the natural disposition he had to the place, being born in that house."† The same year in which he first saw

* Raleigh's father having been a sea-captain is a fact hitherto unknown. I discovered it very recently in examining some documents in the State-paper Office.—See MS., State-paper Office, entitled "Names of certain Gentlemen appointed to be captains of certain Ships ; and Queen Mary's letter to them. 26th April 1558."—*Orig.*

† Original letter of Raleigh to Mr Duke, Works, vol. viii. p. 744. The edition of Raleigh's Works referred to throughout this Life, is that in eight volumes printed at Oxford University Press, 1829. The first volume contains the Lives of Raleigh

the light closed the brief but hopeful reign of Edward VI. ; and it was a happy circumstance, that during the domination of Mary he was still a boy, and secluded in the retirement of his father's country-seat, where he received, either from a domestic tutor or in some school in the neighbourhood, the rudiments of his education. When still very young he was sent to Oriel College, Oxford, where his ready wit and precocity of genius were such, that they have been deemed worthy of commemoration by his illustrious contemporary Lord Bacon.* He exhibited at the same time a restless ambition, which prompted him to seek distinction rather in the stirring scenes of the world than the cloistered solitude of a college ; and this natural inclination to adventure was fostered by the study of books relating to the conquests of the Spaniards in the New World,—a species of reading which was the delight of his early years, and undoubtedly gave a colour to the whole tenor of his life.

His stay at Oxford, therefore, was short ; and in 1569 he seized the opportunity of the civil wars in France, between the Huguenots and the Roman Catholics, to visit that kingdom, and commence his military education. A more excellent school could not have been selected ; and in adopting this step young Raleigh was sure of the approbation of Elizabeth : for this great queen, although, to use the words of Camden, her hands were full of disorders at home, was not wanting either in commiseration or relief to the persecuted Protestants of France. She not only exhorted other princes to lend them assistance, but advanced a considerable sum to the Queen of Navarre, and gave permission to Henry Champernon, Raleigh's near kinsman, to raise a troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, with which he passed over to the continent. They were, according to the description in De Thou, " a gallant company, nobly mounted and accoutred, having on their colours the motto, *Finem det mihi Vir-*

by Oldys and Birch ; and the quotations from these writers are taken from it.

* Apothegms, No. 66.

tus;" and many of them rose afterwards to eminence. But the most noted of them all was Walter Raleigh.*

The historian might have added, that a more important or arduous period could hardly have been selected, in the history of France, for a young man to enter into public life. It was the crisis when the Protestants under the Prince of Condé and the Admiral Coligni, two of the greatest men of modern times, had risen in defence of their religious liberty against the tyranny of the Romanists. In the very year when Raleigh joined the army was fought the battle of Jarnac, so disastrous to the Huguenots, in which Condé, having been made prisoner, was murdered in cold blood. About the same time the Prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., commenced his military career under the care of the veteran Coligni.

Of Raleigh's personal adventures in this army no account has been preserved either by himself or others. But in his *History of the World*, written during his long imprisonment in the Tower, he alludes in more than one place to his French campaign. Speaking of the dangers of intrusting equal power to the commanders of an army, who seldom possess equal courage and judgment, "I remember it well," says he, "that when the Prince of Condé was slain, after the battle of Jarnac, the Protestants did greatly bewail the loss of the said prince, in respect of his religion, person, and birth; yet, comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement than a hinderance to their affairs; for so much did the valour of the one (Condé) outreach the advisedness of the other (Coligni), as whatsoever the admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the prince adventured to lose by being over confident in his own courage."† In this sentence, the style of its commencement, "I remember it well," creates a presumption that Raleigh was present in the battle.

* Thuani Hist. b. 46, chap. ii. Camden, Annal. Reg. Elis. ad Ann. 1569. "Admodum adolescens, jam primum fatis monstratus."

† Raleigh's Works, vol. vi pp. 157, 158.

Not long after this occurred the disastrous defeat of the admiral at Moncontour, on which occasion the victorious army was commanded by the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. It appears from Raleigh's own account, that having shared in the perils of this contest, he retired with Count Ludowick of Nassau, who, by his ability in conducting the retreat, saved one-half of the Protestant force, then broken and disbanded,—“of which,” says he, “myself was an eyewitness, and one of them that had cause to thank him for it.”*

There is yet another allusion in his History to the scene of his military education. “I saw,” he observes, “in the third civil war in France, certain caves in Languedoc, which had but one entrance and that very narrow, cut out in the midway of high rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last by certain bundles of lighted straw let down by an iron chain, with a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it were so smothered, that they rendered themselves with their plate, money, and other goods therein hidden.”†

It seems certain, from a passage quoted by Oldys, that Raleigh remained in France till after the death of Charles IX. This would make the period of his stay upwards of six years,—a circumstance which will account for a considerable chasm in all the memoirs of his life. During this time, we may presume, to use the words of the same author, that “he was initiated in those accomplishments, both civil and military, through the language and politeness of the people, as well as their warlike and ministerial affairs, whereof he afterwards gave such manifold proofs.”‡

The era was indeed remarkable for great changes, and not less so for men eminent in the arts of peace, of civil government, and of elegant literature, as well as in war. If it was the age of Condé and Coligni, it produced also the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, the President De Thou, Ronsard, and Muretus ; and before leaving France, when

* Raleigh's Works, vol. vi. p. 211. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 355.

‡ Oldys's Life, pp. 16, 17.

still only twenty-three, Raleigh had no doubt availed himself of the advantages which it held out to a mind full of ambition and enthusiasm. On the conclusion of the peace in 1576, which secured to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, he returned to England. It has been supposed by his biographers, that about this time he proved his early predilection for poetry by prefixing some commendatory verses to Gascoigne's satire entitled the *Steel Glass*; but although written in the quaint style of his age, their poetical merit is below his other pieces, and it is difficult to believe that they flowed from the same sweet vein which produced the answer to Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd*. Be this as it may, he allowed himself but a short time for his domestic pleasures, or his recreations with the muses; for soon after quitting France he repaired to the seat of war in the Netherlands, where he served as a volunteer, under the Prince of Orange, against the Spaniards.

Fortunately for Raleigh, the condition of this portion of Europe rendered it at that time an instructive school, both for political wisdom and for the military art; so that the rudiments of his education as a statesman and a soldier, which had been received in France, were matured in the Netherlands.

In the great contest then maintained, despotic power was arrayed against the rights of conscience. It was the same struggle he had seen carried on in France, in which, under the banner of royal power, devotion to the ancient faith was leagued against the right of private judgment; and in both kingdoms he bore arms on the side of liberty. Elizabeth, under the directions of her able minister Cecil, had early placed herself at the head of the Protestant interests in Europe, and the same principles which led her to support the French Huguenots, and to aim at the extinction of the power of the house of Guise, induced her to thwart the schemes of Philip II. of Spain. The advance of his imperious governor, the Duke of Alva, in the Netherlands, had at first, in 1567, driven the Prince of Orange, a man as illustrious for genius as for ancient

lineage, to seek a retreat in his estates in Germany. But the determined spirit of resistance shown by Holland and Zealand drew him from seclusion ; and, at the head of a league, by every member of which he was beloved, he organized a resistance against Spain, which, amidst frequent reverses and intolerable oppression, only grew more resolute and decided, till at last, in 1574, it triumphed in the defeat of the ferocious schemes of Alva, and his recall from the government of the Low Countries.

Two years after, upon the death of Requesens, who had succeeded the duke, Don John of Austria, natural brother of Philip, was appointed viceroy of the Netherlands. He was a man of much pride, inordinate ambition, and certainly of some genius. But his plans though vast were ill digested, and his imagination greatly outran his judgment. One of his projects, which had come to the ears of Elizabeth, and deeply incensed her against Spain, consisted in a plot to marry the Queen of Scots, and in her right to acquire the sovereignty of the British dominions. It was this, perhaps, which changed the policy of the English queen from concealed encouragement, to an avowed espousal of the cause of the Protestants, and a determined hostility to Spain. The same motives induced her to conclude a treaty with the States of Holland, to advance them a loan of £50,000 and to despatch to their assistance that force of 5000 foot and 1000 horse in which Raleigh now enlisted as a volunteer.

The chief command was given to Sir John Norris, one of the most experienced soldiers in Europe, of whom it has been well said, that he was no less remarkable for his safe retreats than for his resolute onsets ; whilst his conduct and discipline were so exact, that for a long time his actions were considered precedents, and his orders laws of war.* To serve under such a master could not fail to be of high advantage to any young soldier ; and, although there is no direct reference to it in Raleigh's History or in his other works, there can be little doubt

* Lloyd's State Worthies, pp. 618, 619.

that he shared in that famous action at Rimenant, in which the Spanish army, commanded by Don John of Austria and the Prince of Parma, was overthrown by the forces of the States. The English auxiliaries had been joined by a Scottish force, under Sir Robert Stuart ; and the success of the battle is ascribed by De Thou and Lord Bacon to the steady discipline and determined courage of the English and Scots, who, oppressed by a long march and the extreme heat of the weather, stripped off their armour and doublets, and fought in their shirts and drawers.*

Although thus engaged in war, both in France and in the Netherlands, Raleigh had found leisure to inform himself on those subjects of cosmography and navigation, which at this time engrossed the attention not only of the learned and the adventurous, but of crowned heads and imperial councils. He had studied the histories of the discoveries of Columbus, the conquests of Cortes, and the sanguinary triumphs of Pizarro ; and a writer of good authority, who bears the same name, informs us that such books were his especial favourites, and the subjects of his early conversation. Colonel Richard Bingham, his fellow-soldier, amongst other multifarious projects, was occupied with a scheme for the plantation of America.† Nor were there wanting, we may believe, in the army in which he served, many others whose society was fitted to encourage his early devotion to such pursuits. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ardent mind of Raleigh should have eagerly embraced an op-

* Thuani Historia, vol. iii. p. 608, ed. Bulkely.

† Richard Bingham was an eccentric and extraordinary soldier of fortune, who had gained experience in the French, Scottish, and Venetian wars. He was a man of wonderfully versatile genius, a great projector, "of a fancy high and wild, too desultory and overvoluble," to use the expressive language of a quaint writer : he had travelled over most parts of the world ; and although it was his fortune rather to be skilful in many mysteries than thriving in any, his conversation and society must have been agreeable to a young man of an enthusiastic turn of mind.

portunity of embarking in an adventure of this nature, which offered itself whilst he was in Holland.

His stepbrother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had published, in 1576, a treatise concerning a north-west passage to the East Indies, which, although infected with the pedantry of the age, is full of practical sense and judicious argument.* The work appears to have made no inconsiderable impression upon the government; and Sir Humphrey having obtained a patent from the queen to colonize such parts of North America as were not possessed by any of her allies, prevailed with Raleigh to abandon his military pursuits and try his fortune in the voyage.

The project, however, failed. Many who had eagerly embarked in it became discontented; all desired an equal share of power; discord bred coldness and desertion; and Sir Humphrey and Raleigh at last found themselves obliged to put to sea with a few friends who disdained to leave them under such adverse circumstances. "When the shipping was in a manner prepared," says Edmond Haies, who was a principal actor in the enterprise, "and men ready upon the coast to go aboard, some brake consort and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended, others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the general with a few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea, where, having tasted of no less misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the loss of a tall ship."† On its homeward passage the small squadron of Gilbert was dispersed and disabled by a Spanish fleet, and many of the company were slain; but, perhaps owing to the disastrous issue of the fight, it has been slightly noticed by the English historians.‡ Although unsuccessful, however, in his first voyage, the instructions of Gilbert could not fail to be of service to Raleigh, who at this time was not much above twenty-five, whilst the admiral must have been in the maturity of his age and talent.

* Hakluyt has printed it in his third volume, p. 11.

† Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 146. ‡ Oldys's Life of Raleigh, p. 28.

On his return from the American adventure in 1579, a new scene of activity was presented to his enterprising spirit by the rebellion in Ireland. The intrigues of Spain had kindled the flame of civil war in that misgoverned country, and the prospect was not a little alarming. James Fitz-Morris of the Geraldine family, with the Earl of Desmond and his two brothers, had raised the standard of revolt; and soon afterwards three foreign ships, bearing a freight of Spanish and Italian chivalry, arrayed under the papal banner and commanded by San Josepho, arrived at Smerwick in Kerry. Raleigh's military experience now entitled him to promotion, and we find him commanding a company in Ireland. The chief conduct of the war was intrusted to the Earl of Ormond, governor of Munster, who dislodged the foreign troops from the Fort del Ore, in which they had intrenched themselves. It was found, from the testimony of the prisoners, that a scheme for the subjugation of the island had been concerted between Philip of Spain and the Pope; but we may be permitted to suspend our belief in the assertion of Mr George Whetstone, who insists that his holiness had provided a chalice to drink the Queen of England's precious blood as soon as she should be made a sacrifice.*

Ormond had not used the precaution of destroying the fort, for which his army was too small to spare a garrison; and this neglect led to its re-occupation by a larger body of the enemy than at that time it would have been prudent to attack. He fell back, accordingly, on the Lord-deputy Arthur Lord Grey, who was stationed at Rakele with a body of 800 horse and foot under Captains Raleigh, Zouch, Denny, and Mackworth; on the strength of which reinforcement he again advanced. On striking their tents, Raleigh, who had observed that so soon as an encampment was abandoned the Irish flocked into it in great crowds, remained behind with his troop, and lay in ambush to receive them. Nor was he de-

* Whetstone's English Mirror, p. 154. Oldys's Life, p. 31.

ceived in his expectation ; for the deserted camp was broken into by a tumultuous body of the rebels, whom he instantly charged, and all were either slain or made prisoners.* One of them when taken had a bundle of withes or willow-ropes on his shoulder ; and being asked what use he meant to put them to, answered, " Why, to hang up the English churls ! " " Well," said Raleigh, " they will now do for an Irish kerne," and commanded him to be suspended in one of his own collars,—an instance of severity too much in character with the stern and exasperating policy at that time pursued by the generals of Elizabeth.

Lord Grey having procured artillery, now laid siege to the fort ; and for the first three days Raleigh commanded in the trenches, where John Cheke, the son of Sir John Cheke, tutor to Edward VI., and whose name has been embalmed in a sonnet of Milton, was slain. " He was," says a quaint biographer, " a tall proper gentleman ; but he paid dear for his curiosity, for venturing to look over the parapet, a Spaniard levelled his piece and picked him off." The full batteries were now opened, and the assault prosecuted so desperately that the foreigners hung out a flag of truce. But Grey, a veteran and unrelenting soldier, refused to grant any terms except those of an unconditional surrender. At this time the famous poet Edmund Spenser was at head-quarters, and he has left us an account of the conference. " When," says he, " their secretary, Seignior Jeffrey, an Italian, was sent to treat with the lord-deputy for grace, he was flatly refused it ; and afterwards when their colonel, named Don Sebastian, came forth to entreat that they might part with their arms like soldiers, and at least be spared their lives, according to the custom of war and law of nations, it was strongly denied him, and told him by the lord-deputy himself, that they could not justly plead either custom of war or law of nations, for that they were not any lawful enemies. * * Neither were

* Cox's History of Ireland, p. 367.

the Earl and John of Desmond any thing but rebels and traitors, and therefore they, who came to succour them, no better than rogues and runagates; * * wherefore it would be dishonourable for him, in the name of his queen, to condition, or make any terms with such rascals." It is painful to pursue the story farther. The fort surrendered, and orders were given by the inexorable deputy to put the garrison to the sword,—sparing only an Irish nobleman and a few Spanish officers, who were sent prisoners to England. Elizabeth, although she excused the inferior officers, who simply obeyed orders, expressed herself deeply dissatisfied with their leader on account of this piece of cruelty.*

For some time after this the life of Raleigh was that of an aspiring soldier, enthusiastic in his profession, and mortified "by the poor place and charge which he enjoyed under the lord-deputy." In a letter to the Earl of Leicester, whose favour he seems to have enjoyed at this time, he declares that were it not that Grey was the friend of that powerful favourite, "he would disdain his charge as much as to keep sheep," and describes Ireland as a lost land, not a commonwealth, but a common-wo.† This discontent, however, was of short duration. Sir Walter rose in the confidence of the government; and his activity was so great in reducing the seditious practices of Lord Barry, and other leaders of the rebellion,—in the repulse of Fitz-Edmonds,—the capture of Lord Roch,—and the restoration of the country to a state of security,—that he was repeatedly promoted to situations of trust and responsibility. On the return of the Earl of Ormond to England, the government of Munster was committed to Raleigh, in conjunction with Sir William Morgan and Captain Pierce; and the same year we find him holding the chief command in the city of Cork. The variety of his exploits, and the apparently contradictory qualities which he exhibited, were remarkable. He

* See a letter written about this time to the Earl of Leicester, Cayley's Life, p. 25.

† Cayley's Life, vol. i. p. 25.



PORTRAIT OF LORD BURLEIGH.

The sagacious and wary Burleigh, was now in the zenith of his power, the favoured minister of his royal mistress; and possessing an influence over her masculine mind, which no other amongst her servants ever retained so long.

united the daring courage of the old knight of chivalry with the calm judgment and the love of stratagem which distinguished a later and more refined age. Of the first he gave an example in the defeat of Fitz-Edmonds, where he twice rescued and saved the life of one of the gentlemen of his company at the imminent peril of his own. Of the last he furnished a no less striking instance in the surprise and seizure of the Lord Roch in his own castle, surrounded by a powerful garrison, and in a country where the enemy had carefully occupied every road and fastness.

Upon the suppression of the rebellion Raleigh returned to England, with a reputation for valour and experience well known to those with whom he had served, but which was lost at court amidst the dazzling brilliancy of superior rank and power. Nor could it well be otherwise; for at this moment the throne of Elizabeth was surrounded by a nobility amongst whom was to be found all that was illustrious in birth and pre-eminent in genius, by statesmen, and warriors both by land and sea, whose names have become familiar and stirring words, indissolubly associated with every recollection of the glory of their country.

The sagacious and wary BURLEIGH was now in the zenith of his power, the favoured minister of his royal mistress, and possessing an influence over her masculine mind which no other amongst her servants ever retained so long. Capricious, and exhibiting the weakness and mutability of a woman to his rivals Leicester and Essex, she maintained an invariable regard for Cecil; her confidence in his councils was never shaken; and upon every subject relating to internal administration or foreign policy, his opinion, although openly and severely canvassed at the moment it was given, was silently followed in the end. And yet, although the chosen minister of this great queen, Cecil was not a man of splendid genius or of brilliant and original endowments. In tracing the principles of his government, and studying the accounts of his private life, it will be found that the prominent

qualities of Lord Burleigh were of a homelier nature. Prudence, calm and unimpassioned judgment, indefatigable application, and extreme closeness and taciturnity in the despatch of business, were perhaps his most striking qualities; and the exercise of these was not interrupted by the impediments of the heart or the imagination, which lead some men astray. No bursts of natural and generous feeling,—no enthusiasm for high intellectual talent,—no admiration for what was profound in science, or graceful or beautiful in art,—no foolish feelings for chivalrous honour or unproductive glory, interrupted the even tenor of his purposes, or shook a single principle which he felt to be expedient and necessary. His neglect of Spenser, when this delightful poet was recommended to his patronage by his royal mistress,—his contempt for military renown, unless the victory brought some tangible fruit in security or in solid coin,—his coldness to every thing in religion which did not affect the strictness of the Protestant doctrines or the integrity of established forms, all point the same way, and convince us that the character of this great minister was less ardent than reflective.

But this is only one side of the picture. Looking to the principles and conduct of his administration, and the energy with which he pursued them, nothing can be more consistent and successful. His determination to humble the Papal power, and to support the Protestant reformation,—his zeal on the side of liberty of conscience,—his consequent support of the Huguenot party in France, the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries, and the Reformed Lords in Scotland,—his encouragement of all that serviceable learning which promised to further these objects,*—his decided opposition to a war for territorial conquest,—the energy with which he wielded the strength of the kingdom in the resistance of foreign

* Witness his engaging his friend Sir Thomas Smith to write a Treatise on the Roman Money, which he deemed of practical utility in guiding his own measures for the reformation of the coin. *Biographia Britannica*, by Kippis, art. Cecil, p. 387.

invasion, and in crushing the Irish rebellion,—his wise encouragement of the maritime power of England,—his ardour in humbling the naval supremacy of Spain, in fitting out fleets for the discovery and planting of new countries, and enlarging the boundaries of foreign commerce,—his measures of internal policy, for the settlement of a form of ecclesiastical government, for the payment of the debts of the crown, the relief of the poor, the reformation of the coin of the realm,—all speak the great man, and justify the universal confidence of the nation in his prudence, vigilance, and wisdom, and the extraordinary reputation which he had acquired in foreign countries.

No man perhaps ever lived in more difficult times, or survived them with greater credit and success; and the circumspection and caution of his earlier years, under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, are as remarkable in a different way as his pre-eminence during the reign of Elizabeth. Raised to the peerage from the rank of a private gentleman, he yet thought little of the distinction. He had been as powerful under the name of William Cecil as he now was when he wrote Burleigh; and although on great occasions, where a political object was to be gained, he could assume a magnificence in his entertainments which almost rivalled those of his sovereign, and even ordinarily in his houses, gardens, and equipage, kept up a splendid state, it was apparently more in obedience to the taste of the queen and of the times than from personal vanity or enjoyment. The common habits of his life were sober and unostentatious. “He had a little mule at his favourite seat at Theobalds, upon which he rode up and down the walks: sometimes he would look on those who were shooting with arrows or playing with bowls; but as for himself he never engaged in any diversion, taking the word in its usual sense. He had a few friends who were constantly at his table because he liked their company; but in all his life he never had one favourite, or suffered any body to get an ascendant over him. Basking, as he did, in the sun-

shine of royal favour, he rather suffered than enjoyed his greatness; and whenever he had time to spare he fled, as his expression was, to Theobalds, and buried himself in privacy, where he would pleasantly throw off his gown and say, 'Lie thou there, Lord Treasurer!'"* Yet these intervals of ease and domestic enjoyment were rarely snatched from the constant pressure of his employments, which continued to engross him from his first entrance into public life till he settled a treaty with the States, as he lay sick upon the bed from which he never rose.

In striking contrast to the grave Burleigh, the next most conspicuous person in Elizabeth's court was the gay, profligate, and magnificent DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, the unremitting enemy of Cecil, and yet the highest favourite of the queen. It was as a woman, however, that Elizabeth loved and applauded Dudley, whilst as a sovereign she fully appreciated his rival. Noble birth, the devotion and sufferings of his ancestors in her father's and her sister's reigns, a person and countenance of extreme beauty and gracefulness, and a studied gallantry to his royal mistress, were qualities which endeared Leicester to Elizabeth, and blinded her to the darker parts of his character. Burleigh was earnest for the glory and security of England, and in labouring for his mistress's interest was content that his own should follow as an accessory. Leicester loved power for its own sake, and desired to be omnipotent at court and in the council, that he might gratify his pride and revenge, destroy his enemies, and raise himself upon their ruin. Endowed with a profound dissimulation, he intrigued with Spain, and plotted with the Roman Catholics, in order to undermine the Protestant interest of Cecil; while, though abandoned in his principles and dissolute in his habits, he could assume the mask of religion and become the leader of the Puritans, that he might use

* *Biographia Britannica*, art. Cecil. Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 478.

their power to weaken the ecclesiastical establishment, for the support of which his rival was so deeply interested. His information was so secret, that his spies and dependants were supposed to be as busy on the continent as at home. He was little scrupulous as to the means employed to rid himself of an enemy; and whilst, to shame the coldness and parsimony of Cecil, he acted as a munificent patron of the sciences and learning, he scrupled not to deal with astrologers, wizards, and poisoners, provided they lent their dark assistance in the accomplishment of his designs. Yet all this was done so silently and circumspectly that no proof could be found against him, and the thread was lost before it could be traced to the master-hand which presided within the labyrinth. "Many," says Lloyd, "fell in his time, who saw not the hand that pulled them down; and as many died that knew not their own disease."* At the period when Raleigh made his appearance at court, Dudley possessed some of the highest offices in the kingdom; but whilst the reputation of Burleigh is permanent, his once potent rival is now chiefly remembered as the uncle of Sir Philip Sidney and the patron of Spenser.

At this time another great man at court was RATCLIFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX and Lord Chamberlain, whose blunt, open, and martial character came out in striking relief beside the polished and brilliant personages amongst whom he moved. His abilities in war were of the highest order, as was repeatedly shown in Ireland; and although the rust of the camp and the smoke of battle had rather besmirched and unfitted him for the office of chamberlain to a virgin queen, there was an affability and simplicity in his manners which attracted all honest men to his party, and enabled him, infinitely inferior as he was to Leicester in court-policy, to raise a party against him which had nearly ruined his great enemy, when Sussex showed the nobleness of mind to plead for a fallen foe. It was his custom to designate Dudley by the nick-

* Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 519.

name of the Gipsy, and on his deathbed he is said to have given this singular advice to his friends who stood by :—“ I am now passing into another world, and I must now leave you to your fortunes and to the queen's grace and goodness : but beware of the Gipsy—for he will be too hard for you all ; you know not the beast so well as I do.”*

Leicester, from his lordly state and influence, had acquired amongst the common people the title of the Heart of the Court, while Sussex, by his martial virtue, may be said to have been the soul of the camp ; yet there was another at this time in the suite of Elizabeth, who, although bearing no higher title than that of a knight, was better known in England and throughout Europe than if he had borne a ducal star. This was the all-accomplished Sir PHILIP SIDNEY,—a person of so versatile a genius, that he seemed born to arrive at excellence in almost every department, whether of knowledge or of action. “ His descent,” says Sir Robert Naunton, “ was apparently noble on both sides : for his education, it was such as travel and the university could afford or his tutors infuse ; for, after an incredible proficiency in all the species of learning, he left the academical life for that of the court, whither he came by his uncle's [Leicester] invitation, famed aforehand by a noble report of his accomplishments, which, together with the state of his person, framed by a natural propension to arms, soon attracted the good opinion of all men, and was so highly prized in the good opinion of the queen, that she thought the court deficient without him ; and whereas, through the fame of his deserts, he was in the election for the kingdom of Pole, she refused to further his advancement, not out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her times.”† This quaint encomium savours somewhat of flattery ; yet, judging in the calmest mood of his numerous endowments, and estimating him

* Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 49. † *Ibid.* p. 66.

by the influence which he acquired over his age, Sidney must have been an extraordinary man. His acquaintance with the affairs of Europe was so exact and profound, that William of Nassau assured Sir Fulke Greville he was deserving of a throne in foreign parts, although he filled no office in England. His abilities in war and wisdom in civil policy were of so high an order, that his uncle Leicester held his government in the Low Countries by his counsels and energy when alive, and lost or rather found it prudent to resign it after his death. As a writer, indeed, he cannot be ranked so high. His *Arcadia*, which had just been finished when Raleigh came to court, is an interminable and unreadable production, although in some parts deficient neither in sweetness nor in energy; yet we ought to criticise it with a reference to the taste of those times, and not by the rules applicable to a modern novel or romance. That he could sometimes write with no common vigour and elegance, his little piece entitled *Valour Anatomised in a Fancy*, and his reply to the libel on his uncle Leicester, sufficiently demonstrate. He who was the friend and patron of Spenser,—who is styled by the judicious Camden the darling of the learned world,—whose natural genius and propensity to great designs are commemorated by Grotius,—and whose death at the age of thirty-two created a sensation throughout Europe,—could scarcely have been the inferior person to which the amusing and paradoxical attack of Walpole has laboured to reduce him. One other quality of Sidney, which he shared with some of the greatest men of his time, was an ambition for naval adventure and a zeal for the discovery and colonization of new countries,—a passion with which Raleigh, as we have already seen, could deeply sympathize, and which did not fail to attract these soaring spirits to each other.

It is unnecessary to add to these sketches of the court of Elizabeth as it existed at the period when Raleigh returned from the Irish wars into England. The brilliant picture might be filled up by other illustrious and

able men who surrounded her throne, and carried the terror of her arms into foreign lands, or the thunder of her fleets into the remotest seas of the New World,—by Drake, Howard, Hawkins, Sir Francis Vere, Lord Willoughby, Walsingham, Sadler, Knowles, and many more. But I have preferred to select such as undoubtedly occupied the foreground, and who were leaders and masters in their various classes,—Burleigh among statesmen and civilians, Sussex among soldiers, Leicester among courtiers, and Sidney amid the assembled virtues and graces of them all ; and thus to convey to the reader some idea of the busy and extraordinary scene on which our hero was now called to act a part. That Cecil was at this time aware of the talents of an officer who had served with such distinction cannot be doubted ; but his personal introduction to Elizabeth has been ascribed by tradition to a circumstance which, though well known, is too pleasing to be omitted.

In her progress from the royal barge to the palace the queen, surrounded by her nobles and officers, came to a spot where the ground was so moist that she scrupled for a moment to advance ; upon which Raleigh, stepping forward with an air of devoted gallantry, cast off and spread on the earth a richly embroidered cloak which he then wore. Her majesty, after pausing for a moment, and regarding, not without some little emotion, the fine figure of the young soldier to whom she owed so fair a footcloth, passed over it and proceeded on her way ; but, as was to be expected, immediately sent for and took him into her service. The anecdote, though resting on no higher authority than that already mentioned, almost proves itself to be true by the knowledge it evinces Raleigh to have possessed of the character of Elizabeth. Her predilection for handsome men and her love of splendid apparel were well known ; while in his sacrifice of the gorgeous cloak, and the air of devoted admiration which none knew better how to assume, he displayed that mixture of generous feeling and high-flown gallantry, not unlikely indeed to meet the ridicule of the graver

sort, yet fitted to surprise and delight the princess to whom it was addressed.

At this moment the subject of public talk and deliberation was the marriage of the queen to the Duke of Anjou,—a match apparently agreeable to Elizabeth, and having the countenance of Burleigh and Sussex; but opposed on selfish grounds by Leicester, and by Sidney on the basis of political expedience. Raleigh appears in this matter to have adopted the notions of the Treasurer and Sussex, and to have been selected by the queen to execute some matters of state diplomacy connected with it. He accompanied Simier, the French ambassador, from England to his own court; and when the intrigues of Leicester or the versatility of the queen had defeated the match, and Anjou departed from England to assume the government of the Netherlands, Raleigh was one of that retinue of nobles and gentlemen who conducted him in a magnificent progress to Antwerp, and saw him invested in his new charge. He was here recognised by the Prince of Orange, under whom he had served in the Low Countries, and invited to remain after the departure of Howard, Leicester, and Sidney, that he might be the bearer of letters to the English queen. Of this circumstance, evincing the consideration in which he was held by no incompetent judge, he gives us an account in his "Discourse of the Invention of Ships," &c. Speaking of the flourishing estate of the Hollanders, he traces it in the first instance to the aid of his own country; "which," says he, "the late worthy and famous Prince of Orange did always acknowledge; and in the year 1582, when I took my leave of him at Antwerp, after the return of the Earl of Leicester into England, and Monsieur's arrival there, when he delivered me his letters to her majesty, he prayed me to say to the queen from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur*; for certainly they had withered in the bud and sunk in the beginning of their navigation had not her majesty assisted them."*

* Works, vol. viii. p. 331.

Sir Robert Naunton, who had no predilection for Raleigh, describes him as possessing at this time a mind of uncommon vigour, with a person and manners which attracted all who saw him. His countenance was somewhat spoiled by the unusual height of his forehead ; but his expression was animated, his conversation varied and brilliant, and in speaking on matters of state he possessed a ready and convincing eloquence. Of this, not long afterwards, he was called upon to give an example before the queen and council, which all the authors of his life agree had a surprising effect. The occasion arose out of a dispute with Lord Grey of Wilton. What was the matter in debate does not exactly appear ; though it is probable the severity of the late deputy in the massacre of the garrison at Fort del Ore, and the part borne by Raleigh and Mackworth in its execution, may have called for inquiry. It is certain that on this occasion he defended himself with such spirit, and brought forward the history of the transaction in which his credit was involved with so much force and clearness, that it made an extraordinary impression in his favour both on the queen and the council ; whilst the old lord, who was more of a blunt soldier than an orator, found himself overpowered by the weighty reasons urged against him.

But amidst all this versatility of talent and pursuit, there was one predominant subject to which he was attached from his early years, and which now engrossed his attention : This was the scheme for prosecuting discoveries in the New World, to which the near expiry of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's patent now recalled his attention. The letters had only been granted for six years. Of these, four had elapsed ; and Gilbert determined, with the assistance of Raleigh, to fit out a second squadron to promote that plan of discovery which he had explained in his discourse upon a north-west passage to India. The fleet consisted of five ships and barks,—the *Delight*, *Raleigh*, *Golden Hind*, *Swallow*, and *Squirrel*,—having on board a force of 260 men ; and all was ready for their departure on the 1st June 1583. Raleigh had studied

navigation, not only in its higher branches but even in the minuter practical details ; and the largest ship in the squadron, which bore his name, of 200 tons, was built under his own eye, equipped at his expense, and commanded by Captain Butler, her master being Thomas Davis of Bristol. The proprietor, who had now risen into favour with the queen, did not embark in the expedition ; but he appears to have induced his royal mistress to take so deep an interest in its success, that, on the eve of its sailing from Plymouth, she commissioned him to convey to Sir Humphrey Gilbert her earnest wishes for his success, with a special token of regard,—a little trinket representing an “*anchor guided by a lady.*” We find this interesting circumstance in the following letter written by Raleigh from the court :—

“BROTHER,—I have sent you a token from hermajesty, —an anchor guided by a lady, as you see,—and farther her Highness willed me to send you word, that she wished you as great good hap and safety to your ship as if herself were there in person, desiring you to have care of yourself, as of that which she tendereth ; and therefore, for her sake, you must provide for it accordingly. Farther, she commandeth that you leave your picture with me. For the rest I leave till our meeting, or to the report of this bearer, who would needs be the messenger of this good news. So I commit you to the will and protection of God, who send us such life or death as he shall please, or hath appointed !—Richmond, this Friday morning. Your true brother, WALTER RALEIGH.”*

* This letter is indorsed as having been received March 18,* 1582-3 ; and it may be remarked that it settles the doubt as to the truth of Prince's† story of the golden anchor, questioned by Campbell in his Lives of the Admirals. In the *Herologia Angliæ*, p. 65, there is a fine print of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, taken evidently from an original picture ; but, unlike the portrait mentioned by Granger in his Biographical History, vol. i. p. 246, it does not bear the device mentioned in the text. Raleigh's

* Cayley, vol. i. p. 31.

† Worthies of Devon, p. 419.

The expedition, which set out under these happy auspices, was unfortunate even in its commencement, and ultimately fatal to its brave leader. In a short time the Raleigh returned into harbour, a contagious distemper having broken out on board. Gilbert pursued his voyage; and having reached the Baccalaos, originally discovered by John Cabot and since called Newfoundland, took possession of it and the adjoining coasts in the name of the English queen. The ceremony, although performed in the New World, was, according to the usages of the Old, entirely feudal; the royal charter being first read, and a rod and turf of the soil delivered to the admiral. After a partial survey of the island, and an interview with the natives, whose disposition was gentle and pacific,* they steered towards the south, with the intention of bringing the countries in that quarter under "the compass of the patent." But discontent, mutiny, and disease, broke out in the fleet; the *Swallow* was sent home with the sick, and soon after the *Delight* was completely wrecked. The remaining barks were the *Golden Hind* and *Squirrel*; the first of forty, the last of ten tons burden. For what reason does not appear, the admiral insisted, against the remonstrances of his officers and crew, in having his flag in the *Squirrel*. It was a fatal resolution: the weather soon after became dark and lowering, the sailors with characteristic superstition declared they heard strange voices commanding them to leave the helm; fearful shapes were said to glare during the night around the ship, and the apparition of the ominous flame, called by seamen "*Castor and Pollux*," flitted above the mast.† These portents were the preludes

letter explains this difference. When Sir Humphrey was at Plymouth on the eve of sailing, the queen commands him, we see, to leave his picture with Raleigh. This must allude to a portrait *already* painted; and of course the golden anchor *then* sent could not be seen in *it*. Now he perished on the voyage. The picture at Devonshire House mentioned by Granger, which bears this honourable badge, must therefore have been painted *after* his death.

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 151, 153. † Ibid. pp. 156, 158, 159.

to a tremendous storm ; and on the 9th of September, at midnight, the little vessel which carried the admiral was swallowed up with all on board, and not a plank of her ever seen again. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was an able and extraordinary man, and deserves the epithet bestowed on him by Campbell, "the father of our plantations," having been the first to establish a regular method of colonial settlement. When seen for the last time before they were cast away, he was sitting on deck with a book in his hand, and was heard to exclaim, as if encouraging his men, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." According to Captain Haies, an eyewitness, he reiterated "the same speech, well beseeming a soldier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was."* After this disaster the *Golden Hind* pursued her homeward voyage, and arrived at Falmouth on the 22d of September 1583.

The melancholy fate of his brother did not deter Raleigh from the prosecution of his schemes. By the study of the Spanish voyages, and his conversations with some skilful mariners of that nation whom he met in Holland and Flanders, he had learnt that the Spanish ships always went into the Gulf of Mexico by St Domingo and Hispaniola, and directed their homeward course by the Havannah and the Gulf of Florida, where they found a continued coast on the west side trending away north, which however they soon lost sight of by standing to the east to make the coast of Spain. Upon these grounds, and for reasons deduced from analogy and a knowledge of the sphere, he concluded there must be a vast extent of land north of the Gulf of Florida, of which he resolved to attempt the discovery.

It is not improbable, also, that during his residence in France he might have become acquainted with the particulars of the voyage of Verazzano, or have seen the charts constructed by that navigator, who had explored the same coast nearly as far south as the latitude of

* Captain Edward Haies' Narrative of the Expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 143, 159.

Virginia.* Having fully weighed this project, he laid a memoir before the queen and council, who approved of the undertaking; and in the beginning of 1584 her majesty granted, by her letters patent, all such countries as he should discover in property to himself and his heirs, reserving to the crown the fifth part of the gold or silver ore which might be found. The patent contained ample authority for the defence of the new countries, the transport of settlers, and the exportation of provisions and commodities for their use.

Burleigh was now anxious to retire from public life; and although his royal mistress insisted on his remaining in office, and rallied him with great vivacity on his love of seclusion, Sir Walter, who was in high favour at court, did not deem it prudent, or perhaps was not permitted, to leave the country. He therefore selected for the command of his projected voyage two experienced officers,—Captains Philip Amadis and Arthur Barlow,—to whom he gave minute written instructions, and who sailed with two ships, well manned and provisioned, on the 27th of April 1584. On the 10th of May they arrived at the Canaries; after which, keeping a south-easterly course, they made the West Indies, where they remained twelve days; and, departing thence, on the 2d of July found themselves in shoal-water, discerning their approach to the land by the delicious fragrance with which the air

* Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 417. In 1582, Hakluyt published a work entitled "Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America and the Islands adjacent." It is dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney; and, among other subjects, urges the necessity of an attempt to discover a passage by the north-west to the East Indies. His reasons for the existence of such a passage are, first, the letter of Sebastian Cabot to Ramusio, stating his belief that the northern part of America was divided into islands; and, secondly, "That Master John Verazzano, who had been thrice on that coast, in an old excellent map had so described; which map he gave to Henry the Eighth, and which," says Hakluyt, "is yet in the custody of Mr Lock." It is probable that Raleigh had seen this map, as Hakluyt's book, published in 1582, the very year before his discovery was planned, contains a copy of it.

was loaded,—“as if,” to use the words of their letter to Raleigh, “we had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kind of odoriferous flowers.”*

Arrived upon the coast, and sailing along upwards of 120 miles, they at length found a haven and disembarked. Their first step was to take possession of the country in name of the queen; after which they ascended a neighbouring eminence, and discovered to their surprise that they had not landed on the continent, but on the island of Wokokon, which they found running parallel to nearly the whole coast of North Carolina. The valleys were finely wooded with cedars, around whose trunks wild vines hung in festoons; and the grape seemed so native to the soil, that the clusters covered the ground, and dipt into the sea. For two days no inhabitants were seen; but on the third a canoe with three men approached. One of them was easily prevailed on to come aboard, when the present of a shirt and some trinkets gained his confidence. On returning to his boat he began to fish, and having loaded it heavily, paddled back to the English, and, dividing his cargo into two parts, intimated that one was for the ship and the other for the pinnace.

Next day they received a visit from some canoes, in which were forty or fifty men, amongst whom was Granganimeo, brother to the king of the country. Having first rowed within a short distance, they landed on the beach; and the chief, attended by his suite, who were handsome and athletic persons, fearlessly approached opposite the ship. A long mat was spread for him, on which he sat down; and four of his followers, apparently men of rank, squatted themselves on the corner. Signs were made for the English to come forward; and on doing so Granganimeo desired them to sit down beside him, showing every token of joy and welcome, first striking his own head and breast, and afterwards those of the strangers, as if to express that they were all brethren. Presents were exchanged; and such was the

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 246.

reverence with which these people treated their prince, that whilst he made a long harangue, they remained perfectly still, standing at a distance ; even the four chiefs only venturing to communicate their feelings to each other in a whisper. The gifts were received with delight ; but on some trinkets being offered to the chiefs, Granganimeo quietly rose up, and taking them away, put them into his own basket, intimating by signs that every thing ought to be given to him, these men being no more than his servants,—a proceeding to which they submitted without a murmur. A traffic was soon opened, in which the English made good profit, by exchanging beads and other trifles for rich furs and skins. On exhibiting their wares, Granganimeo's eye fixed with delight upon a tin dish, for which he conceived the strongest desire. It became his at the price of twenty skins ; and, having pierced a hole in the rim, he hung it round his neck, making signs that it would serve as a breastplate to protect him against the arrows of his enemies.

It was now found that these people were engaged in hostilities with a neighbouring nation, and that the absence of the king was occasioned by severe wounds lately received in battle, of which he lay sick at the chief town, six miles off. His brother, after a few days, again visited the English, attended by his wife and children, came aboard, and partook of a collation, which they seemed to enjoy. Their manners were remarkable for ease and civility. The lady was a handsome little woman, extremely bashful. She wore a leathern mantle, with the fur next her skin, and her hair, which was long and black, was confined in a band of white coral ; strings of pearl, as large as peas, hung from her ears, reaching to her middle. Her children had earrings of the same precious material, whilst those of her attendants were of copper. Granganimeo was dressed much in the same fashion as his wife. On his head he wore a broad plate of metal ; but, not being permitted to examine it, they were uncertain whether it was copper or gold.

A brisk trade now began with the natives ; but no

one was allowed to engage in it when the king's brother was present, except such chiefs as were distinguished by having plates of copper upon their heads. When this prince intended to visit the ship he invariably intimated the number of boats which were to accompany him, by lighting on the shore an equal number of beacons. The navigators learnt that, about twenty years before their arrival, a vessel belonging to a Christian country had been wrecked on the coast, all hands on board perishing; out of the planks cast ashore the people had drawn the nails and bolts, with which they had formed some edge-tools, not having possessed any previous to this accident; but these were very rude, and their common instruments consisted of shells and sharp flints. Yet with such imperfect means their canoes were admirably made, and large enough to hold twenty men. When they wished to construct one, they either burnt down a large tree, or selected such as had been blown down by the wind, and laying a coat of gum and resin on one side, set fire to it, by which it was hollowed out; after which they scraped and polished it with their shells; and if found too shallow, laid on more resin, and burnt it down to the required depth.

The soil of the country was rich, the air mild and salubrious, and they counted fourteen kinds of sweet-smelling trees, besides an underwood of laurels and box, with oaks whose girth was greater than those of England. Their fruits were melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, and esculent roots; and the woods were plentifully stocked with bucks, rabbits, and hares. After a short while the adventurers, by invitation of the natives, explored the river, on whose banks was their principal town; but the distance to be travelled being twenty miles, they did not see the city. They reached, however, an island called Roanoak, where they found a village of nine houses built of cedar, the residence of their friend Prince Granganimeo, who was then absent. His wife, with whom they were already acquainted, received them with a generous hospitality, running out to meet them, giving directions to her servants to pull their boats on

shore, and to carry the white strangers on their backs to her own house, where she feasted them with fish and venison, and afterwards set before them a dessert of fruits of various kinds. The people were gentle and faithful, void of all deceit, and seemed to live after the manner of the golden age.*

As the surf beat high on landing, they got wet, notwithstanding their mode of transport; but this inconvenience was soon remedied,—a great fire being kindled, and their clothes washed and dried by the princess's women, whilst their feet were bathed in warm water. The natives expressed astonishment at the whiteness of their skins, and kindly patted them as they looked wonderingly at each other. During the feast two men armed with bows and arrows suddenly entered the gate, when the visitors in some alarm took hold of their swords, which lay beside them, to the great annoyance of their hostess, who at once detected their mistrust. She despatched some of her attendants to drive the poor fellows out at the gate, and who, seizing their bows and arrows, broke them in an instant. These arrows were made of small canes, pointed with shell or the sharp tooth of a fish. The swords, breastplates, and war-clubs, used by the natives, were formed of hardened wood; to the end of this last weapon they fastened the horns of a stag or some other beast, and their wars were carried on with much cruelty and loss of life.

The name of the country where the English landed was Wingandaoea, and of the sovereign Wingina; but his kingdom was of moderate extent, and surrounded by states under independent princes, some of them in alliance and others at war with him. Having examined as much of the interior as their time would permit, our countrymen sailed homeward, accompanied by two of the natives named Wanchese and Manteo, and arrived in England in the middle of September.

Raleigh was highly delighted with this new discovery,

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 249.

establishing in so satisfactory a manner the results of his previous reasoning, and undertaken at his sole suggestion and expense. His royal mistress, too, was scarcely less gratified; she gave her countenance and support to the schemes for colonization which he began to urge at court, and issued her command, that the new country, so full of amenity and beauty, should, in allusion to her state of life, be called Virginia.* He was soon afterwards chosen, along with Sir William Courtney, to represent the county of Devon in Parliament; and although the imperfect manner in which at this period the transactions of the House of Commons were recorded renders it difficult to follow the steps of his political career, it is certain that he served upon various committees, and took an active share in public business. On the 14th of December, the bill for the confirmation of his patent of discovery, already mentioned, after having been read the second time, was referred to a committee, amongst whom we find the eminent names of Walsingham, Sidney, Drake, and Grenville, by whom it was approved without alteration; and on the 18th, after some discussion, it passed the house.

Not long after this Raleigh received the honour of knighthood; a dignity bestowed by Elizabeth with singular frugality and discrimination. In the time of this great queen, it was a certain cognizance of distinguished genius and valour, very different from those titles of more pompous denomination conferred by her successor, who suffered lucre to corrupt the true fountain of nobility, and to divert it into vulgar channels. It is a remarkable fact, that during her whole reign, extending to forty-four years, and perhaps more prolific of great men and great events than that of any former sovereign of England, she created only six earls and nine barons. With regard to the dignity of knight, it was reserved as the highest distinction which could be conferred upon a warrior and a gentleman. This was shown in the in-

* Oldys's Life of Raleigh, p. 58.

stances of Sir Francis Vere and Sir Walter Raleigh, men set apart for military service, and whom she never raised above the rank of knighthood ; saying, when importuned to make the former a baron,—“that in his proper sphere and in her estimation he was above it already.”* About the same period, Sir Walter received a new mark of favour, in the grant of a patent to license the vending of wines throughout the kingdom,—a monopoly, however objectionable in principle, extremely lucrative in its returns, and which was probably bestowed by Elizabeth to enable him more effectually to carry on his great schemes for the improvement of navigation, and the settlement of a colony in Virginia.

It was at this time that a company was formed by some able men, under letters-patent from the queen, denominated The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-west Passage. The principal persons in this spirited undertaking were, Sanderson, a wealthy merchant of London, Sir Adrian Gilbert, and Sir Walter Raleigh. An account of the results of their labours,—the three celebrated voyages of Davis,—has elsewhere been given ;† but some months previous to the departure of this great seaman, Raleigh had fitted out a fleet for Virginia, the command of which he intrusted to his relative Sir Richard Grenville. This officer, whose life was as enterprising as his death was heroic, had, in his early years, served against the Turks, and after sharing in the glory of the battle of Lepanto, returned to England with the reputation of an experienced soldier, which he increased by his conduct during the Irish rebellion. The queen promoted him to be Sheriff of Cork ; and, on his coming to England, he was chosen to represent the county of Cornwall in Parliament, in which he exhibited uncommon talents and energy.

* Osborne's Traditional Memorials on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Secret History of the Court of James I., vol. i. pp. 80, 81.

† Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. I. Polar Seas and Regions, 4th edition, p. 211-222.

The fleet of which he now assumed the direction consisted of seven vessels, including the *Dorothy* a small bark, and two pinnaces. The others were the *Tiger* of 140 tons burden, the *Lion* of 100, the *Elizabeth* of 50, and the *Roebuck*, a fly-boat of the same burden as the *Tiger*. Part of these were fitted out at Sir Walter's expense, the remainder by his companions in the adventure; one of whom was Thomas Candish or Cavendish, afterwards so eminent as a navigator,* who now served under Grenville.

On the 14th of April the mariners reached the Canaries, from which they steered to Dominica in the West Indies, and landed at Puerto Rico, where they constructed a temporary fort; and during their stay captured two richly freighted Spanish ships, having on board some persons of rank, who purchased their liberty at a high ransom. On the 26th of June, after some delays at Hispaniola and Florida, they came to anchor at Wokokon in Virginia; and having sent notice of their arrival by Manteo, one of the two natives who had visited England, they were soon welcomed by their old friend Granganimeo, who displayed much satisfaction at their return. Mr Ralph Lane, who had been invested with the dignity of chief governor, now disembarked with 108 men, having as his deputy Philip Amadas, one of the original discoverers. Grenville does not appear to have been sufficiently aware of the difficulties likely to be encountered by an infant colony in a new country; and accordingly, after a short stay, during which was collected a valuable cargo of skins, furs, and pearls, he returned to England, carrying into Plymouth a Spanish prize, which he had captured on the homeward voyage, of 300 tons burden, and richly laden.

There is a combination of qualities required in the governor of a new settlement, which are of rare occurrence. Courage, promptitude, and firmness, are absolutely necessary, but they must be under the control of much good temper, patience, and self-command. An aptitude

* Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. V. Early English Navigators, 3d edition, p. 125

to take offence, and an eagerness to repel imaginary insults, are the most dangerous qualities which such a dignitary can exhibit ; and unfortunately they seem to have been too prominent features in the character of Mr Ralph Lane. The consequence was a speedy and total failure. Yet the first survey of their new territory delighted the English ; and the governor in a letter to Hakluyt, who appears to have been his intimate friend, informs him that " they had discovered the mainland to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven ; abounding with sweet trees that bring sundry rich and pleasant gums ; * * and, moreover, of huge and unknown greatness, well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholesome that they had not one person sick since their arrival."*

Lane fixed his abode on the island of Roanoak, and thence extended his researches eighty miles southward to the city of Secotan. He also pushed 130 miles north to the country of the Chesepians, a temperate and fertile region ; and north-west to Chawanook, a large province under a monarch named Menatonon. These proceedings, however, were soon interrupted by the threatening aspect of affairs at head-quarters. Even before the departure of Grenville for England an accident occurred in which the conduct of the settlers was rash and impolitic. A silver cup had been stolen, and a boat was despatched to Aquascogok to reclaim it. Alarmed at this visit the savages fled into the woods, and the enraged crew demolished the city and destroyed the corn-fields. A revenge so deep for so slight an injury incensed the natives ; and, although they artfully concealed their resentment, from that moment all cordiality between them and the strangers was at an end.

Not long after, Menatonon and his son Skyco were seized and thrown into irons ; but the monarch was soon enlarged, whilst the youth was retained as a hostage for his fidelity. To all appearance this precaution had the desired effect. But the king, although an untaught savage, proved himself an adept in dissimulation. Work-

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 254.

ing upon the avarice and credulity of the English, he enticed them into the interior of the country by a flattering report of its extraordinary richness and amenity. He asserted that they would arrive at a region where the robes of the sovereign and courtiers were embroidered with pearl, and the beds and houses studded with the same precious material. Menatonon described also a remarkably rich mine, called by the natives Chaunis Temoatan, which was situated in the country of the Mangaoaks, and produced a mineral similar to copper, although softer and paler.

By these artful representations Lane was persuaded to undertake an expedition by water, with two wherries and forty men. Instead, however, of the promised relays of provisions, they found the towns deserted, and the whole country laid waste. Their boats glided along silent and solitary banks; and after three days, during which they had not seen a human being, their last morsel of food was exhausted, and the governor, now aware of the treachery of Menatonon, proposed to return. His men, however, entreated him to proceed, still haunted by dreams of the inexhaustible riches of the Mangaoaks' country, and declaring they could not starve as long as they had two mastiffs, which they might kill and make into soup. Overcome by such arguments Lane continued the voyage; but for two days longer no living thing appeared. At night indeed lights were seen moving on the banks, demonstrating that their progress was not unknown, though the observers were invisible. At last, on the third day, a loud voice from the woods suddenly called out the name of Manteo, who was now with the expedition. As the voice was followed by a song, Lane imagined it a pacific salutation; but the Indian seized his gun, and had scarcely time to warn them that they were about to be attacked, when a volley of arrows was discharged into the boats. The travellers now landed and assaulted the savages, who fell back into the depths of the wood, and escaped with little injury; upon which it was resolved to return to the settlement. On their homeward voyage, which, owing to their descending

with the current, was performed with great rapidity, they had recourse to the mastiff-broth, or as the governor terms it, "dog's porridge," and arrived at Roanoak in time to defeat a formidable conspiracy.

The author of the plot was Wingina, who, since the death of his brother Granganimeo, had taken the name of Pemisapan. His associate was Menatonon, to whose son, Skyco, at that time a prisoner in the hands of the English, Pemisapan also communicated the design; and these two chiefs, pretending friendship, but concealing under its mask the most deadly enmity, had organized the plan of a general massacre of the colony. The design, however, was betrayed to Lane by Skyco, who had become attached to the English; and, aware of the necessity of taking immediate measures before Pemisapan could muster his forces, the governor gave instructions to seize any canoes which might offer to depart from the island. In executing this order, two natives were slain, and their enraged countrymen rose in a body and attempted to overpower the colonists, but were instantly dispersed. Not aware, however, that his secret was discovered, and affecting to consider this as an accident, Pemisapan admitted Lane and his officers to an interview which proved fatal to him. The Virginian monarch was seated in state, surrounded by seven or eight of his principal weroanees, or high chiefs; and after a brief debate, upon a signal given, the Europeans attacked the royal circle and put them all to death.

This alarming conspiracy had scarcely been put down, when the natives made a second attempt to get rid of the strangers by neglecting to sow the adjacent lands, hoping in this manner to compel them to leave the country. At this decisive moment a fleet of twenty-three vessels came in sight, which turned out to be the squadron of Sir Francis Drake, who had fortunately determined to visit the colony of his friend Sir Walter, and carry home news of their condition on his return from an expedition against the settlements in the Spanish Main. It was now long past the time when supplies had been expected from England, and Drake generously

offered every sort of provisions, which were readily accepted. Lane also received a vessel and some smaller craft to carry them home ; but before they could get on board, a dreadful tempest, which continued four days, dashed the barks intended for the colonists to pieces, and might have driven on shore the whole fleet, unless, to use the language of the old despatch, " the Lord had held his holy hand over them." Deprived in this way of all other prospect of return, they embarked in Sir Francis' fleet, and arrived in England on the 27th of July 1586.

Scarcely, however, had they sailed, when the folly of their precipitate conclusion that Raleigh had forgotten or neglected them, was manifested by the arrival at Hatorask of a vessel of 100 tons, amply stored with every supply. Deeply disappointed at finding no appearance of the colony, they sailed along the coast and explored the interior. But all their search was in vain, and they were compelled to take their departure for Europe. This, however, was not all. Within a fortnight after they weighed anchor, Sir Richard Grenville, with three well-appointed vessels, fitted out principally by Raleigh, appeared off Virginia, where, on landing, he found to his astonishment every thing deserted and in ruins. Having made an unsuccessful effort to procure intelligence of his countrymen, it became necessary to return home. But, unwilling to abandon so promising a discovery, he left behind him, on the isle of Roanoak, fifteen men with provisions for two years, and, after some exploits against the Spaniards in the Azores, arrived in England.*

Such repeated mismanagement would have disgusted any spirit less ardent and energetic than Raleigh's. But his zeal for the naval glory of the country, and his enthusiasm for the prosecution of maritime discovery, continued unabated. At this moment he had commissioned two vessels, the *Serpent* and *Mary Spark*, which he despatched under Captains Jacob Whiddon and John Evesham to cruise against the Spaniards. In this adventure more prizes were taken than they could carry home. Nor was he enriched only by the ships and

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 265.

commodities which were captured, but by the ransom of prisoners, amongst whom were the commandant of St Michaels, and Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, governor of the Straits of Magellan, one of the most able navigators of Spain. With him Sir Walter, who from a congeniality of pursuits could well appreciate his talents, entered into an intimate correspondence, treating him whilst under his roof with distinguished courtesy, discussing subjects of cosmography, examining charts of the New World, and availing himself as far as was possible of the great experience of the Spaniard. We learn this from an amusing anecdote introduced in his *History of the World*, in comparing the extravagant conjectures with which some antiquaries have filled up the more obscure periods of ancient history to the pigmies and blocks of loadstone that geographers think themselves at liberty to set down in their tracts of unexplored countries:—"I remember," says he, "a pretty jest of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthy Spanish gentleman who had been employed by his king in planting a colony upon the Straits of Magellan; for when I asked him, being then my prisoner, some question about an island in those straits, which methought might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the Painter's Wife's Island; saying, that whilst the fellow drew that map, his wife sitting by desired him to put in one country for her, that she in imagination might have an island of her own."*

It was about this time that George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, another celebrated admiral of Elizabeth, fitted out a small squadron for an expedition to the South Seas, to which Raleigh contributed a pinnace named the *Dorothy*. Clifford in his youth had been the pupil of the celebrated Archbishop Whitgift, and was probably intended by his father for a pacific and learned profession; but his early knowledge in mathematics predisposed him to navigation, and, in common with many other enterprising spirits of that age, he was seized with a passion

* *Hist. of the World*, book ii. c. xxiii. § 4. *Works*, vol. iv. p. 684.

for adventure. This expedition, however, in which Raleigh was a partner, proved unfortunate; and Sir Walter's attention was soon engrossed by the arrival of his colony from Virginia.

It is asserted by Camden, that tobacco was now for the first time brought into England by these settlers; and there can be little doubt that Lane had been directed to import it by his master, who must have seen it used in France during his residence there.* There is a well-known tradition that Sir Walter first began to smoke it privately in his study, and the servant coming in with his tankard of ale and nutmeg, as he was intent upon his book, seeing the smoke issuing from his mouth, threw all the liquor in his face by way of extinguishing the fire, and running down stairs, alarmed the family with piercing cries, that his master, before they could get up, would be burnt to ashes. "And this," continues Oldys, "has nothing in it more surprising than the mistake of those Virginians themselves, who the first time they seized upon a quantity of gunpowder which belonged to the English colony, sowed it for grain, or the seed of some strange vegetable, in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest to scatter their enemies."†

On another occasion it is said that Raleigh, conversing with his royal mistress upon the singular properties of this new and extraordinary herb, "assured her majesty he had so well experienced the nature of it, that he could tell her of what weight even the smoke would be in any quantity proposed to be consumed. Her majesty, fixing her thoughts upon the most impracticable part of the experiment, that of bounding the smoke in a balance, suspected that he put the traveller upon her, and would needs lay him a wager he could not solve the doubt: so he procured a quantity agreed upon to be thoroughly smoked; then went to weighing, but it was of the ashes; and in the conclusion, what was wanting in the prime weight of the tobacco, her majesty did not deny to have

* Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 509.

† Oldys' Life of Raleigh, p. 74.

been evaporated in smoke ; and further said, that ‘ many labourers in the fire she had heard of who had turned their gold into smoke, but Raleigh was the first who had turned smoke into gold.’ ”*

Along with Lane, Raleigh had sent Mr Thomas Hariot, his master in mathematics, in whose society and instructions he took so much delight that he maintained him in his house, and allowed him a pension. He was a man of profound scientific acquirements ; the undoubted inventor of the theory of equations universally followed in modern algebra, unjustly claimed by Descartes ; † and being also an excellent naturalist, Sir Walter selected him as the person best fitted to accomplish a minute survey of the extent and productions of his new kingdom. The reader will be amused at his description of this plant, afterwards destined to become so famous throughout Europe : “ There is an herb,” says he, “ which is sowed apart by itself, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc. In the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the several places and countries where it groweth and is used. The Spaniards generally call it tabacco. The leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder, they use to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of clay, into their stomach and head ; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other gross humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body ; by which means the use thereof not only preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not been of too long continuance), in short time breaketh them : whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health. * * This Vppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they think their gods are marvellously delighted therewith, whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice : being in a storm upon the waters, to pacify their gods they cast some up into the air and into the water ; so a wear for fish being

* Apothegms of English Nation, a MS. quoted by Oldys in his *Life of Raleigh*, p. 75.

† *Biogr. Brit.*, art. Hariot. Wallis's *Hist. of Algebra*, c. 30, 53.

newly set up, they cast some therein and into the air ; also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the air likewise ; but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithal, and chattering strange words and noises. We ourselves, during the time we were there, used to suck it after their manner, as also since our return, and have found many rare and wonderful experiments of the virtues thereof, of which the relation would require a volume by itself: the use of it," concludes Mr Hariot, evidently himself an enthusiastic smoker, "by so many of late, men and women of great calling, and some learned physicians also, is sufficient witness."*

In the treatise on Virginia written by this author, we find ample proof that liberal terms were offered by the proprietor to those who chose to settle in his new colony. The smallest portion of land that he granted was 500 acres to any person who engaged in the adventure, and there seems to be little doubt that the failure of his first attempt ought to be ascribed to the imprudent conduct of Lane, not only in his attacks upon the natives, but his precipitate desertion of the settlement. Yet Raleigh, undismayed by these misfortunes, and having a considerable command of money, drawn from the prizes which his ships had taken, determined to send out a second colony, the preparations for which, however, he was for the present obliged to defer, on account of the multiplicity of affairs which pressed upon him at home.

Of these one of the most difficult was the management of a large estate in Ireland, given him by the queen. On the suppression of the Munster rebellion, the forfeited principality of the Earl of Desmond was parcelled out by Elizabeth among those who had distinguished themselves in the war ; and in this plantation of Munster, as it was called, there was assigned to Raleigh a portion of 12,000 acres. The persons to whom these grants were made received the name of *Gentlemen Undertakers*, and were bound to improve their property,

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 271, 272.

with the view of reducing the country to civilisation and good order. One of those who shared in this benevolence was the famous Spenser, who formerly filled the office of secretary to the lord-deputy, and with whom Sir Walter, during his campaign in Ireland, had contracted a warm friendship. The lot given to the poet of the Fairy Queen contained the Castle of Kilcolman, the ancient and romantic domains of the Earls of Desmond, which was watered by the river Mulla. Although he remained in England, Sir Walter adopted, with his characteristic energy, immediate measures for the cultivation of his territory, not sparing his private fortune, re-enclosing the lands laid waste by war, and encouraging the people to return to their deserted farms and hamlets. The subsequent rebellion, however, defeated these salutary endeavours; and in 1601, by the advice of Sir George Carew, then President of Munster, Raleigh sold his Irish state to Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork. The farms, as we learn from Carew, were then untenanted, and instead of yielding any profit, cost their proprietor £200 a-year to keep them from invasion and havoc,—a consideration which induced him readily to accept the offer of Mr Boyle.*

Sir Walter's favour at court had now risen so high that he began to experience the jealousy which always attends unusual promotion; and yet his preferments were rather honourable than lucrative. He was appointed Seneschal of the dutchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord-warden of the Stanneries; and he sat in the parliament of 1586, in which the majority of the house recommended to Elizabeth to put to death the Scottish queen, as affording the only sure prospect of security to her dominions.

His office of Warden of the Stanneries was no sinecure; and it may be necessary to explain it. Tin, from a remote period, has been the staple commodity of Cornwall, this produce having been famous even in the time of the Romans. After the conquest by the Normans, the earls of that county derived great revenues from the same

* Life of Boyle, Earl of Cork, in *Biographia Britannica*.

source, and in fact had the monopoly of the trade in Europe; for the Spanish mines had ceased to be worked, and those of Germany were not yet discovered. Edmund, brother to Henry III., having obtained possession of this dutchy, enacted the stannery-laws, by which a certain impost, payable to the Duke of Cornwall, was laid upon this mineral. These laws were afterwards confirmed and enlarged by Edward III., who divided the whole society of tanners, till then composing one body, into four parts, called, from the places of their residence, Foymore, Blackmore, Trewarnaile, and Penwith. Over these he constituted one general warden to judge in causes both of law and equity, and to set over each company a sub-warden, whose duty it was to determine controversies once a-month,—their sentences, from the stannum or tin, being denominated stannery-judgments, from which an appeal lay to the lord-warden. And lest the tribute, forty shillings for every thousand pounds of tin, should not be regularly paid to the Duke of Cornwall, it was provided that the metal should be carried to one of the four towns to be weighed, stamped, and charged with duty; after which the proprietor was at liberty to sell it, giving the first offer to the king. Such were the origin and uses of this ancient office. When conferred upon Raleigh the title of Duke of Cornwall was extinct; but the patent conveyed to him the same privileges which had belonged to the dukedom. Under his management the condition of the workmen was ameliorated and their wages doubled,—a fact which shows that the monopoly, although injurious in itself, was mildly and honestly administered.

Amidst these multiplied cares, he found time to cultivate his literary taste, to enjoy the society of learned and scientific men, to extend his patronage to professors of the fine arts, and not only to make himself useful to the queen in the graver matters of state policy, but agreeable to her by his accomplishments and fascinating conversation. “The queen,” says Naunton, in speaking of his rise, “began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands: and the truth

is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all."*

Of those who were thus offended with the power which Raleigh gained at this time over the queen, none more deeply resented it, or bore it more impatiently, than the Earl of Essex. The following remarkable letter has lately been discovered, which throws much light on this jealousy, and establishes the fact that Elizabeth delighted to see Raleigh and Essex competing for her love.

“MR DIER,—I have been this morning at Winchester House to seek you, and I would have given a thousand pounds to have had one hour's speech with you: so much I would hearken to your counsel, and so greatly do I esteem your friendship. Things are fallen out very strangely against me, since my last being with you. Yesternight, the queen came to Northhall; where my lady of Warwick would needs have my sister to be;† which though I knew not at the first, yet, to prevent the worst, I made my aunt Laighton‡ signify so much unto the queen before her coming from Theobalds, that at her coming to Northhall this matter might not seem strange unto her. She seemed to be well pleased and well contented with it, and promised to use her well. Yesternight, after she was come, and knew my sister was in the house, she commanded my lady of Warwick that my sister should keep her chamber. Whereupon, being greatly troubled in myself, I watched when the queen had supped, to have some speech with her; which I had at large, yet still she giving occasion thereof. Her excuse was; first, she knew not of my sister's coming; and besides, the jealousy that the world would conceive that all her kindness to my sister was done for love of myself. Such bad excuses gave me a theme large enough, both for answer of them, and to tell her what the true causes were; why she would offer this

* *Fragmenta Regalia*, pp. 109, 110.

† My Lady of Warwick—probably Anne, daughter to Francis, earl of Bedford, third wife to Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick.

‡ Who she was I cannot yet find.

disgrace both to me and to my sister ; which was only to please that knave Raleigh, for whose sake I saw she would both grieve me and my love, and disgrace me in the eye of the world. From thence she came to speak of Raleigh, and it seemed she could not well endure any thing to be spoken against him ; and taking hold of one word, *disdain*, she said there was no such cause why I should disdain him. This speech troubled me so much, that as near as I could I did describe unto her what he had been, and what he was ; and then I did let her see, whether I *had cause to disdain his competition of love* ; or whether I could have comfort to give myself over to *the service of a mistress* that was in awe of such a man. I spake what of grief and choler as much against him as I could : and I think he standing at the door might very well hear the worst that I spoke of himself. In the end, I saw she was resolved to defend him, and to cross me. From thence she came to speak bitterly against my mother ; † which, because I could not endure, to see me and my house disgraced (the only matter which both her choler and the practice of mine enemies had to work upon), I told her, for my sister, she should not any longer disquiet her ; I would, though it were almost midnight, send her away that night : and for myself, I had no joy to be in any place, but loth to be near about her, when I knew my affection so much thrown down, and such a wretch as Raleigh highly esteemed of her. To this she made no answer but turned her away to my lady of Warwick. So at that late hour I sent my men away with my sister ; and after, I came HITHER myself. This strange alteration is by Raleigh's means : and the queen, that hath tried all other ways, now will see whether she can by these hard courses drive me to be friends with Raleigh ; which rather shall drive me to many other extremities. If you come hither by twelve of the clock I would fain speak with you. My resolution will let me take no longer time. I will be this night at Margett, and if I can I will ship myself for

† Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knolles, and then Countess of Leicester.

Flushing. I will see Sluse lost or relieved, which cannot be yet, but is now ready to be done. If I return I will be welcomed home. If not, *una bella morier* is better than a disquiet life. This course may seem strange; but the extreme unkind dealing with me drives me to it. My friends will make the best of it; mine enemies cannot say it is dishonest; the danger is mine, and I am content to abide the worst. Whatsoever becomes of me, God grant her to be ever most happy. And so in haste I commit you to God.—Yours assured,

“ R. ESSEX.

“ This 21st of July.

“ If you show my letter to any body, let it be to my mother and Mr Secretary.*”

It was now time to think of his Virginian colony, the failure of which, as already noticed, was rather owing to the precipitate desertion of Lane than to any fault in the original plan; and he determined to make a new attempt for the settlement of a country which held out so many encouragements from its salubrious climate and fertile soil. Hariot, who accompanied Lane, had by this time published his True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, which created much speculation; so that he experienced little difficulty in procuring 150 settlers. He appointed as governor Mr John White, with twelve assistants, to whom he gave a charter, incorporating them by the name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia. These, in three vessels, furnished principally at his own expense, sailed from Portsmouth on the 26th of April 1587, and on the 22d of July anchored in Hatorask harbour. White, with forty men, proceeded in the pinnace to Roanoak to confer with the fifteen colonists left by Sir Richard Grenville; but to his dismay found the place deserted, and human bones scattered on the beach,—the remains, as was afterwards

* This curious letter was discovered by my learned friend Mr Brewer of Queen's College, Oxford, amongst the valuable MS. Collections of Archbishop Sancroft, vol. lxxiv. p. 46.—It is now printed for the first time.

discovered, of their countrymen, all of whom the savages had slain. A party then hastened to the fort on the north side of the island. But here the prospect was equally discouraging. No trace of a human being was to be seen ; the building was rased to the ground, and the wild deer were couching in the ruined houses, and feeding on the herbage and melons which had overgrown the floor and crept up the walls.

Although the governor held Raleigh's written orders to make the settlement on the Bay of Chesepiock, he was obliged to abandon that plan, and commenced repairing the buildings at Roanoak. But disaster attended all their proceedings. Dissensions broke out among them ; and White, either from want of firmness or not being intrusted with sufficient authority, found it impossible to carry on operations with success. The natives of Croatoan were friendly ; those of Secota and Aquascogok, who had murdered the former colonists, completely hostile ; but all were clothed alike,—and before going to war the Croatoans anxiously begged for some badge by which they might be recognised. In the confusion this was neglected, and it led to unhappy consequences. Howe, an English sailor, who had gone a-fishing, was slain by the savages, being pierced with sixteen arrows ; and White having in vain attempted to open a pacific communication with the weroanees or chief men of Secota and Pomeiock, determined not to delay his revenge. Guided, therefore, by Manteo, he set out at midnight with Captain Stafford and twenty-four men, and stealing in the dark upon the natives as they sat around a fire, shot some of them dead on the spot, while others fled shrieking into a thicket, and one savage who knew Stafford rushed up, calling out his name and embracing his knees. To the grief and horror of the governor it was then discovered that they had attacked a party of friends instead of enemies.

Soon after, Manteo, in obedience to Raleigh's directions, was christened, and created Lord of Roanoak and Dasamonwepeuk ; whilst Mrs Eleanor Dare, the wife of one

of the assistants, having given birth to a daughter, the infant was named Virginia, being the first Christian born in that country.*

White was now anxious to fulfil Sir Walter's instructions ; but disputes arose with renewed bitterness among the settlers. Though they were not in want of stores, many demanded permission to go home ; others violently opposed this ; and at last, after stating a variety of projects, all joined in requesting the governor to sail for England, and return with all the supplies requisite for the establishment of the colony. To this he reluctantly consented ; and departing from Roanoak on the 27th of August 1587, where he left eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and eleven children, he arrived in England on the 5th of November.†

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 284, 285.

† Ibid. p. 286.



Wm. Strickland

CHAPTER II.

*From the Defeat of the Armada to Raleigh's
Imprisonment.*

Expected Invasion of England by the Spanish Armada—Conduct of Elizabeth—Consultations with Sir Walter Raleigh and other experienced Officers—Preparations for Defence—Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Lord Henry Seymour—Strength, Numbers, and Disposition of the English Navy, shown from Original Documents in the State-paper Office—Elizabeth visits the Army in the Camp at Tilbury—The Armada sails from the Tagus—Dispersed and driven back—Sails the Second Time—Its Arrival off the Lizard—Cautious Tactics of the English—Their Success—Fight on the 22d, 23d, 25th, and 26th July—The Armada makes its Way up Channel to Calais—Its Discomfiture—Rejoicings for the Victory—Raleigh's Services rewarded by the Queen—He sails with Drake and Norris in the Portuguese Expedition—Character of the Earl of Essex—Raleigh's Journey to Ireland—Visits Spenser at Kilcolman—Their Friendship—First Three Cantos of the Fairy Queen completed—Spenser returns with Raleigh to England—Introduced to the Queen—Raleigh's Defence of Sir Richard Grenville—Character and Fate of this great Officer—Raleigh's Amour with Elizabeth Throgmorton—They are privately married—Elizabeth's Indignation, and Raleigh's Disgrace—Sent to the Tower—Singular Conduct in Confinement—He recovers his Liberty.

THE governor of Virginia could not have returned home at a moment more unpropitious to the interests of the infant colony. The mind of the whole nation was engrossed with one great subject,—the expected invasion of England by the fleet so proudly described as the In-

vincible Armada,—and Raleigh, along with a committee of the ablest councillors and commanders, was engaged in devising measures of defence. He despatched White, however, with supplies in two vessels; but they were attacked by a Spanish privateer, and so much disabled as to be obliged to put back, whilst it was impossible to refit the ships, owing to the urgency of more important matters. The crisis was indeed one of the deepest importance. The preparations of Spain were conducted on a greater scale than had ever before been witnessed; and, whether we look to these mighty efforts, or to the consequences involved in their success or discomfiture, it is perhaps not too much to affirm, that in a reign crowded with events, this threatened annihilation of England, the Protestant bulwark of Europe, by the concentrated energies of a despotic and Roman Catholic power, was the greatest of them all.

The resources of Philip made him a formidable enemy. His navy was vast, and unrivalled if we consider the size of his vessels and their ordnance; the possession of Flanders gave him harbours opposite to those of England; his influence with the Romish party in France was great; his exchequer rich in the gold of the New World; and his army composed of the best-disciplined troops and the most experienced officers in Europe. His preparations had now continued for three years, and the result was the assembling of a fleet greater than had ever sailed from Spain. According to a letter of Sir John Hawkins, written at the time to Sir Francis Walsingham,* the main strength of the Armada consisted in a squadron of fifty-four “forceful and invincible” ships, embracing nine galleons of Portugal, twenty great Venetians and argosies of the seas, twenty great Biscainers, four galleasses, and one ship of the Duke of Florence of 800 tons. Besides these there were thirty smaller ships, and thirty hulks, making in all 114 vessels; but another account, derived from the Spanish historians, gives a higher estimate,

* Preserved in the State-paper Office.

affirming that the whole naval force extended to 132 ships and twenty caravels.*

It was divided into seven squadrons. The first, consisting of twelve Portuguese galleons, under the command of the generalissimo, the Duke de Medina Sidonia; the second, of fourteen ships, being the fleet of Biscay, under the Vice-admiral Juan Martinez de Recaldo; the third, that of Castile, of sixteen ships, commanded by Don Diego de Valdez; the fourth, the Andalusian squadron, of eleven ships, by Pedro de Valdez; the fifth, the squadron of Guypuscoa, of fourteen ships, by Don Michel de Oquendo; the sixth, the eastern fleet, of ten ships, called Levantiscas, led by Don Martin de Vertendona; and the seventh, of twenty-three urcas, or hulks, under the command of Juan Lopez de Medina. Besides these there were twenty-four vessels, called pataches or zabras, under Antonio de Mendoza, four galleasses of Naples, led by Hugo de Moncada, and four Portuguese galleys, by Don Diego de Medrana. The united crews amounted to 8766 mariners; and on board were 21,855 soldiers, besides 2088 galley-slaves. The ordnance was less than might have been expected, the whole fleet mounting only 3165 guns; but exclusive of this the Armada contained a large quantity of stores for the army, consisting of cannon, double cannon, culverins, and field-pieces; 7000 muskets, 10,000 halberds, 56,000 quintals of gunpowder, and 12,000 quintals of match. Confident of success, the Spaniards loaded the ships with horses, mules, carts, wheels, wagons, spades, mattocks, baskets, and every thing necessary for taking up their permanent residence in the country; and the fleet and army were provisioned on a scale of unexampled profusion. The generalissimo, the officers under him, and the volunteers, who belonged to the noblest families of Spain, were attended by their suites, physicians, and domestics. Every want had been

* Kent, vol. ii. pp. 266, 267. This would make the total 152 ships. It will be seen that Howard afterwards, in stating the whole force first seen off the Lizard, makes it 160 sail. It is difficult to arrive at the exact numbers.

provided for, every wish anticipated, with a splendour befitting more the progress of an Asiatic potentate, than the passage of an army against a formidable antagonist. Superstition, too, had sent her votaries, with the apparatus of her triumphs. One hundred and eighty monks and jesuits embarked on board the Armada; they carried with them chains, wheels, racks, whips, and other instruments of torture, to be employed in the conversion of heretics; and a more intellectual but not less characteristic part of the stores consisted of many thousand copies of Doleman's "Treatise on the Succession," written against the title of Elizabeth to the English throne.* But this was not all the force that Elizabeth saw arrayed against her. In the Netherlands the Duke of Parma had prepared a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats, and collected an army of 30,000 men, commanded under him by Amadeus of Savoy, John of Medicis, and Vespasian Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta; whilst the Duke of Guise was conducting 12,000 men to the coast of Normandy, in expectation of being received on board the fleet, and landed on the west of England.

Such was the force destined for the destruction of the liberty of England, and the overthrow of the Protestant religion; and it might have been thought the gathering of a storm so tremendous would have shaken the constancy of a female sovereign. But it was far otherwise. The mind of Elizabeth rose with the emergency; and, at all times decided, now assumed an attitude of strength, cheerfulness, and preparation, which was truly noble. She knew the resources of her kingdom; she expressed her confidence that God would never desert the cause of the true faith, or permit its enemies to triumph, and she collected round her those wise ministers and brave commanders who had been bred in her councils, and had gained knowledge and renown in her service. Amongst these one of the most distinguished was Raleigh; and in the consultations, as well as in the active duties of this

* MSS. at Hatfield House.

season of trial, he bore no inconsiderable part. It is apparent from his writings that he had long studied the question relative to the best means of opposing the power of Spain; he was acquainted, better perhaps than any man in England, with the strength and resources of that kingdom; he was an excellent soldier, and intimately conversant with naval subjects; whilst his zeal for the honour of the queen and the glory of his country was not behind that of any of her servants.

It was with good reason, therefore, that he was chosen one of the council of war, held on the 27th of November. Its object was to prepare an immediate scheme of defence; and along with Raleigh sat Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, and Ralph Lane, Esq. These councillors were chosen by the queen, as being not only men bred to arms, and some of them, as Grey, Norris, Bingham, and Grenville, of high military talents, but of grave experience in affairs of state and in the civil government of provinces,—qualities by no means unimportant, when the debate referred not merely to the leading of an army or the plan of a campaign, but to the organization of a militia, and the communication with the magistrates for arming the peasantry, and encouraging them to a resolute and simultaneous resistance. From some private papers of Lord Burleigh it appears that Sir Walter took a principal share in these deliberations; and the abstract of their proceedings, a document still preserved, is supposed to have been drawn up by him. They first prepared a list of places where it was likely the Spanish army might attempt a descent, as well as of those which lay most exposed to the force under the Duke of Parma. They next considered the speediest and most effectual means of defence, whether by fortification or the muster of a military array; and, lastly, deliberated on the course to be taken for fighting the enemy if he should land.

When the lords-lieutenant of the different counties returned their numbers, it was found that the total

military force raised for defence of the kingdom amounted to 132,689 men, exclusive of the levies furnished by the city of London.* From this mass troops were drafted according to exigencies. It was determined that at Milford, whose haven afforded the best opportunity of disembarking, there should be assembled 2000 foot and 200 horse. Plymouth was still more anxiously provided with the means of defence, its proximity to Spain rendering it likely to be selected. There, accordingly, were stationed 5000 men of Devon and Cornwall, besides the force of the Stanneries, which Raleigh commanded as lord-warden. It was probably at this crisis that the queen conferred upon Sir Walter the office of lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall; and it was recommended by the commissioners that the utmost assiduity should be employed in disciplining these troops,—one-half of the expense to be defrayed by the queen and the other by the country. Portland, of which Raleigh had the charge, was armed both by fortification and with the troops from Dorsetshire and Wiltshire; and the same order of defence was carried into effect in the Isle of Wight and Somerset, and upon the coasts of Kent and

* Original document in the State-paper Office. In the year 1793 the late John Bruce Esq. of Falkland, keeper of the State-paper Office, was directed by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, at that time secretary at war, to make a search into the original documents under his charge, for the purpose of discovering what arrangements were made in 1588 for the internal defence of the country, when Spain by its Armada projected the invasion and conquest of England. Mr Bruce accordingly drew up a full and excellent report upon this question, illustrated by an appendix containing apparently the most valuable of the contemporary documents relative to the Armada which are preserved in the State-paper Office; the original lists of the army and navy; and the correspondence of Howard, Hawkins, Drake, and Seymour, with the queen and her ministers. It is from this report, of which a very few copies were printed for the members of the Cabinet, but which was never published, that the principal parts of this history of the Armada are derived.—*Note to 1st Edition.*

Recently, however, the author, in his researches in the State-paper Office, discovered some additional original letters of Drake and Howard, written during the action with the Armada, and hitherto unknown.—These have been used in this edition.

Sussex, Norfolk and Suffolk. In the event of the Spanish army landing, the order of battle was left to the discretion of the general ; only it was advised, if the enemy's advance into the interior could not be prevented, that the country should be driven and wasted, and the invaders harassed by perpetual alarms. Nor was any serious opposition to be risked until the presence of a strong army should make the chance of victory more certain.

The best measures for training the infantry and horsemen, for providing arms for the pikemen and billmen, for transporting ordnance, provisioning garrisons, and ensuring the rapid communication of intelligence, were also recommended ; and, in addition to this, Raleigh in a private correspondence directed the thoughts of the lord-treasurer to some more minute precautions, which had probably escaped the attention of the general council.*

In consequence of these able arrangements, seconded by the spirit of the queen and the energy of the people, the kingdom soon presented an aspect which might have convinced Philip of the extreme temerity of his attempt. In a pretended intercepted letter written from England by a contemporary and eyewitness, it is stated, " that within a short time the whole of England rose simultaneously and in arms. There was not a corner of the land which did not ring with preparation and muster its armed force ; and especially," says this eyewitness, " the maritime counties from Cornwall all along southward to Kent, and thence eastward to Lincolnshire, were so furnished with soldiers, both of themselves and with resort from their next shires, as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any foreign forces, but there were within forty-eight hours to come to the place above 20,000 fighting men on horseback and on foot, with all manner of ammunition, provision, and carriages, under the principal nobles of the counties, and captains of the greatest knowledge."†

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. pp. 452, 453.

† Oldys' Life of Raleigh, p. 101.

In addition to these preparations, in which every man able to bear a weapon was eager to act his part, the queen directed two armies to be raised,—one, consisting of 22,000 foot and 2000 horse, encamped at Tilbury in Essex, under the Earl of Leicester; the other, which mustered 28,900 men, levied for the protection of her majesty's person, was commanded by Lord Hunsdon, her near kinsman, and a nobleman in whom she had a perfect confidence.* The city of London raised 10,000 men, which were exercised in the presence of Elizabeth; and in case of a more pressing emergency, they had a reserve in readiness.† Thus the whole island, without exaggeration or metaphor, might be said, at this imperious challenge of Spain, to have stood up sword in hand, sheathed in complete steel.

All this, however, against the overwhelming naval force of Philip might have proved insufficient. Some indeed thought the kingdom strong enough to cut any army to pieces the moment of its landing, and underrated the necessity of any great effort at sea; but the prime minister was aware that such an idea was not to be followed. Raleigh in particular, if we may be allowed to judge from his opinions given in the "History of the World," must have deprecated so presumptuous a notion. "Making the question general and positive," says he, in an admirable passage of this work, "whether England, without help of her fleet, be able to debar an enemy from landing, I hold that it is unable so to do; and therefore I think it most dangerous to make the adventure: for the encouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence."‡ He proceeds to demonstrate the weakness of any argument drawn from France, or any other European countries, possessed of

* Original documents in the State-paper Office.

† The supplies furnished by the city of London, and by the other parts of the kingdom, are minutely detailed in original Reports still preserved amongst the MSS. at Hatfield House.

‡ Hist. of the World, book v. cap. i. § ix. Works, vol. vi. p. 100.

many fortified places ; whereas the ramparts of England consist only of the bodies of men. There is a difference, he remarks, between an invasion by land and one by sea, where the choice of the place of debarkation remains with the enemy ; and he arrives at the conclusion, that such an attempt cannot be successfully resisted on the coast of England without a fleet. " There is no man ignorant," says he, " that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily outrun the soldiers that coast them. '*Les armées ne volent poynt en poste ;*' ' Armies neither fly nor run post,' saith a marshal of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seen at sunset, and after it, at the Lizard ; yet by the next morning they may recover Portland ; whereas an army of foot shall not be able to march it in six days. Again, when those troops, lodged on the seashores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a fleet of ships, they will at length sit down in the mid-way, and leave all at adventure." He maintains, therefore, " that a strong army, in a good fleet, which neither foot nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list in England, France, or elsewhere, unless it be hindered, encountered, and shuffled together by a fleet of equal or answerable strength."*

These views, founded on a practical acquaintance with the comparative powers of a land and naval force, were adopted, and led to the equipment of a fleet suitable to the emergency. At this time the navy of England included among its commanders some of the greatest names in our history. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most intrepid and accomplished sea-officers in Europe, were in the vigour of their abilities. Lord Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England, assumed the chief command, and Drake, Hawkins, Lord Henry Seymour, and Frobisher, were vice-admirals ; whilst there also served under them such experienced captains as the Earl of Cumberland, Sir William Winter, Fenner, and many

* Works, vol. vi. pp. 102, 103.

others. Howard's division amounted to sixty-six, including the merchantmen by which he was reinforced; Lord Henry Seymour commanded a squadron of thirty-three sail: and these fleets were joined by eighteen merchant-adventurers from the river Thames; making in all a force of 117 ships, having on board 11,120 men.* The lord-admiral, who guarded the west coast, divided his force into three parts, himself commanding the centre, in which were the largest vessels. On the side of Ushant he stationed Drake, with twenty ships and five pinnaces, to give the earliest notice of the enemy's approach; whilst Hawkins took a position between the admiral and the Scilly Islands. In this manner the whole line of the west was covered against attack. It was possible, however, that the Armada might make Cape Clear, double Dungsby Head, and join the armament of the Duke of Parma in the Narrow Seas. To provide against this Lord Henry Seymour and Count Justin of Navarre, admiral of Zealand, were stationed off Dunkirk, with orders to cruise along the coast of Flanders, block up its ports, watch the approach of the Spaniards by the Channel, and maintain a constant communication with Lord Howard.

Elizabeth, at this trying crisis, experienced the fidelity of the great body of her Roman Catholic subjects; though on one side the Protestants assaulted them with suspicion and odium, and on the other they were invited by the Pope to throw off their allegiance, and combine in a general insurrection. But bred up as they had been in the errors of their fathers, these brave and honourable men were still devotedly attached to the land of their birth; and hence many nobles of that faith served as volunteers in the fleet and army. Some fitted out vessels at their own expense, intrusting the command to Protestant officers; while others encouraged their dependants to neglect at such a moment the distinctions

* Original List in the State-paper Office.

of politics and religion, and to unite in the efforts to repel an act of unprincipled aggression.*

The queen, meanwhile, omitted nothing which might encourage her army and increase her popularity. Of her feelings in this great crisis a memorable record has been preserved. It is a private prayer or meditation, which having met the eye of Sir R. Cecil was sent by him to the generals of her army at Portsmouth.—“Most Omnipotent, and Guider of all our world’s masse, that only searchest and fadomest the bottom of all hearts’ conceits, and in them seest the true original of all actions intended; how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greediness of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our now set out army; but a heedful care, and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over surety of harm, might breed either danger to us, or glory to them. These being grounds, Thou that didst inspire the mind, we humbly beseech, with bended knees, prosper the work, and with the best forewinds guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the return the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of thy fame, and surety to the realm, with the least loss of English blood. To these devout petitions, Lord, give thou thy blessed graunt. Amen.”† Meanwhile, the camp at Tilbury, where the queen’s favourite the Earl of Leicester commanded, exhibited the appearance of a continual fête. She resided in the neighbourhood, frequently visited and held conferences with the officers, and when the arrival of the Armada began to be daily expected, reviewed the army in person. On this occasion Elizabeth appeared in armour, holding a marshal’s truncheon in her hand, and riding a war-horse. Essex and Leicester held her bridle-rein, whilst the lord-marshal, Sir

* Kent, *Memoirs of Illustrious Seamen*, p. 275. Stowe, p. 747.

† MS. British Museum, Otho, E. ix. f. 183; dorso—“Her Majesty’s private meditation upon the present expedition, sent from Sir Robert Cecil to the generals of her highness’ army, at Plemouth—enclosed in this letter here underwritten.” There is no letter enclosing it.

John Norris, attended on foot; and placing herself at their head, she made this memorable oration to her soldiers:—"My loving people," said the lion-hearted princess, "we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and therefore, I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm! To which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms,—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people."*

On the 20th of May,† the Armada sailed from the

* Cabala, p. 373.

† Substance of certain Mariners' Report touching the Spanish Fleet, in State-paper Office. A transcript of the original plan for the Armada, drawn up in Spanish, is amongst the MSS. at Hatfield.

Tagus, the decks crowded with an array of chivalry such as had seldom before been mustered, and amidst the shouts of a multitude which believed that the doom of England was sealed. From the instructions of the Spanish commander-in-chief, preserved in the State-paper Office, it appears that the fleet was to rendezvous first off Cape Finisterre ; but in case of separation they were to make for the Groyne. Thence they were to stretch for England, the point of meeting being the south side of the Scilly Islands ; or, if this should be impracticable, to anchor in Mounts Bay on the coast of Cornwall. Preparations had been hastened in Flanders to facilitate a co-operation with the Armada ; and a flotilla was equipped to receive troops, which were to sail for the opposite shore on receiving intelligence that the great fleet had arrived on the western coast. To ensure success, a squadron of large Portuguese galleasses were directed to separate from the Duke of Medina Sidonia the moment he reached his destination, for the purpose of supporting the Duke of Parma.

These arrangements were unexpectedly disconcerted. Steering to the northward, within a league of Cape Finisterre the fleet was attacked by a violent storm, which dispersed the greater ships, sunk some of the smaller, and drove others for shelter to the neighbouring harbours. It was soon after confidently reported in England that the whole had been destroyed ; and the queen, with too hasty economy, ordered the high-admiral to lay up four of the largest vessels. To this he returned the noble answer, that rather than dismantle them at a moment of such danger, he would take upon him to disobey his mistress, and keep them at his own charges. Howard now called a council, in which it was determined to sail towards Spain, to complete the destruction of the Armada if disabled, or to ascertain if it had been refitted and was again at sea ; but though chase was given to fourteen ships, descried between Ushant and Scilly, they, as well as the great body of the fleet, escaped the English, and arrived in a shattered condition at the Groyne. Upon

this the high-admiral, becoming afraid lest in his absence they might reach Plymouth, returned thither with expedition ; and, having discovered that all was still safe, allowed his men a short period of relaxation on shore.

It was fortunate he did so return ; for on the very day of his arrival, being the 12th July, the Duke de Medina Sidonia once more stood out to sea and sailed for England, having been informed by a fisherman that Howard had laid up his ships, and considered the danger over for that year. The Armada had a slow and perilous passage through the Bay of Biscay, at times becalmed, or involved in thick fogs ; but, on the 19th of July it entered the British Channel, and at sunset was observed off the Lizard by Fleming, a Scottish pirate or rover, who brought the intelligence to Plymouth. At the moment this notice was given, the captains and commanders were engaged in playing bowls on the Hoe ; and Sir Francis Drake, it is said, insisted, in the true spirit of a sailor, that the match must be played out, as there was ample time both to win the game and beat the Spaniards. All was now bustle and preparation, and the wind blowing stiffly in from the south-west, the ships were warped out, a difficult task, but performed with great activity and skill. The object of the Spanish admiral was to make his way through the Channel to Calais, there to meet the squadron under the Duke of Parma.

It was on the evening of Saturday, the 20th of July, that the English first descried the enemy. The Armada came majestically on, the vessels being drawn up in a semicircle, which from horn to horn covered an extent of seven miles.* Their appearance, owing to their height and bulk, though imposing to an inexperienced eye, inspired confidence in Drake and the best officers, who reckoned upon having the advantage in tacking, and knew that, from the light build and better management of their own ships, they could out-manceuvre them.

* Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 546.

Howard accordingly suffered the whole to pass, and doubling upon their rear, followed for some time without coming to close action. The *Defiance*, a pinnace, commanded by Captain Jonas Bradbury, was, in the feudal spirit of the times, despatched to carry a defiance to the enemy, and commence the battle by discharging her ordnance against the first antagonist she might approach. Immediately after this the English admiral, in his own ship, the *Ark Royal*, engaged a Spanish galleon commanded by Don Alphonso de Leva, into which he poured a well-directed broadside. At the same moment Drake in the *Revenge*, Hawkins in the *Victory*, and Frobisher in the *Triumph*, the largest vessel in the English fleet, brought to action the galleons which were astern under Rear-admiral Juan de Recaldo, a veteran of great courage and experience. His abilities, however, were unequal to this contest; and, after an obstinate resistance, his squadron was dispersed, one ship burnt, the flag-ship of Pedro de Valdez, leader of the Andalusian division, taken by Drake, with 55,000 ducats aboard (which were immediately distributed amongst the sailors), and the rest compelled to seek shelter under the main body of the fleet. The Duke de Medina Sidonia, however, held on his course, throwing out signals, and crowding all sail; whilst Howard, satisfied with the advantage, intermitted the cannonade till he should be joined by forty vessels which had been detained at Plymouth: so ended the first engagement of the 21st July.

At this crisis the following characteristic letter was written by the lord-admiral to Sir Francis Walsingham:—

“SIR,—I will not trouble you with any long letter; we are at this present otherwise occupied than with writing. Upon Friday, at Plymouth, I received intelligence that there were a great number of ships descried off the *Lizard*; whereupon, although the wind was very skant, we first warped out of harbour that night, and upon Saturday it turned out rain, hard by, the wind being at south-west, and about three of the clock in the

afternoon descried the Spanish fleet, and we did what we could to work for the wind, which by this morning we had recovered, descrying their fleet to consist of 160 sail, whereof there are four galleasses and many ships of great burden. At nine of the clock we gave them fight, which continued until one. In the fight we made some of them to bear down to stop their leak, notwithstanding we durst not adventure to put in amongst them, their fleet being so strong. But there shall nothing be either neglected or unhazarded that may work their overthrow. Sir, the captains in her majesty's ships have behaved themselves most bravely and like men hitherto, and I doubt not will continue to their great commendation. And so, recommending our good success to your godly prayers, I bid you heartily farewell. From aboard the Ark, the coast of Plymouth, the 21st of July, 1588.—Your very loving friend, “C. HOWARD.”*

The orders of the Spanish commander to pass Plymouth and join Parma being peremptory, he held on his course, despatching at the same time a pinnace to hasten the duke and inform him of the loss already sustained. Hitherto the action had continued in a succession of skirmishes, the English avoiding a close engagement till their enemy should get farther into the Channel.† Raleigh in the mean while, afraid that the principal fight might take place without his presence, left his charge by land to proper officers, and, with a company of nobles and gentlemen in a small squadron, joined the fleet on the morning of the 23d of July.

By this time the Armada had advanced opposite to Portland, and the battle which ensued occupied the whole day. The younger and more ardent officers were anxious to board the enemy. But Howard, by the counsel of

* This letter is published from the original in the State-paper Office: the old spelling has been altered.—Bruce's Report, Ap. No. 54.

† Substance of certain Mariners' Report. Original in State-paper Office.

his more experienced captains, had resolved upon a contrary course ; and from the published writings of Raleigh we may infer that he was a principal adviser on this subject. He was aware of the superiority which would be acquired by the lighter and less numerous vessels of the English over the unwieldy galleons of the enemy, provided the admiral avoided coming to close quarters. He had observed, that their own ships might approach near enough to give a broadside in which every shot did damage, while it was almost impossible for the Spaniards to bring their great ordnance to bear. He knew, to use his own words, that " he that will happily perform a fight at sea, must be skilful in making choice of vessels to fight in ; he must believe that there is more belonging to a good man of war upon the waters than great daring ; and must know, that there is a great deal of difference between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The guns of a slow ship pierce as well and make as great holes as those in a swift. To clap ships together without consideration belongs rather to a madman than to a man of war."* The tactics therefore adopted were wisely suited to the comparative powers of the two fleets. Howard's squadron, which consisted of nearly 100 ships, kept loose and separate, ever asunder but always in motion, and taking advantage of the wind to tack when they could most annoy the enemy, pouring in a broadside and then sheering out of range of the Spanish guns, returning before the latter had time to reload, and giving them another discharge, succeeded by as speedy a retreat ; so that Sir Henry Wotton has compared it to a morris-dance upon the waters.†

At first the whole Spanish fleet bore down upon their antagonists, anxious to bring them to a close action, which these dexterous combatants avoided by separating into small divisions. One of these, however, consisting of six ships, led by the *Triumph*, Sir Martin Frobisher, and the *Golden Lion*, Lord Thomas Howard, was so far

* History of the World. Works, vol. vi. p. 81.

† Oldys's Life of Raleigh, p. 167.

disjoined from the rest, that the galleasses, getting advantage of the wind, came close abreast, and began an engagement, which lasted two hours with the most unremitting obstinacy. At the same time one of the English squadrons attacked the division of the Armada stationed to the westward, and disabled every ship in the line ; but before this success could be followed up signals were made for the victors to join the *Ark Royal*, and proceed to the assistance of Frobisher and his five merchantmen, who fought with undiminished resolution against a far superior force. Orders were given at the same time, that not a single shot should be fired before coming within musket-range. The Spanish admiral, anticipating the intention of Howard, attempted to intercept him by sixteen of his best-equipped galleons, which brought on a sanguinary conflict. The invaders fought with resolution ; but their ships were sluggish ; when they gave a broadside, a great part of their shot, from their height above the water, passed over the heads of their opponents, and at last they were completely broken, and forced to sheer off. Frobisher also repulsed the squadron that attacked him ; and the battle, which had continued from morning, was only broken off by night,—a large Venetian ship and several transports having been taken by the English.*

Next day, the Spaniards showed little inclination to renew the action ; and by a mismanagement, strongly animadverted upon by Raleigh, their antagonists had run short of ammunition. Howard despatched some barks and pinnaces, which soon rejoined him with a supply ; but in consequence of this circumstance operations were suspended during the whole of the 24th.

On the morning of the 25th, the Armada being alongside of the Isle of Wight, a large Portuguese galleon, which had probably been disabled in the fight of the 23d, dropped astern, and was, without much resistance, taken by Captain Hawkins. Three galleasses, indeed, under Alphonso de Leva and Tellez Enriquez, attempted a

* Kent, p. 288-290.

rescue, but were themselves severely handled, and with difficulty escaped ; whilst the remainder, alarmed by the evident superiority of their enemy, kept aloof, and the wind falling, their ships lay becalmed and completely inactive upon the waters. It was one great advantage that the English vessels, from their light build, could be towed near the Spaniards by the long-boats,—an operation which the huge dimensions of the latter rendered impracticable. The *Triumph*, Captain Frobisher, at this moment, from being the largest in the fleet, had fallen to leeward, and a breeze springing up, some galleons prepared to attack her ; but before they could gain the weather-gage, she was taken in tow by a small vessel, and recovered the wind, while the *White Bear* and *Elizabeth Jonas* bore up to her relief in the face of a numerous squadron. During the action, which now became general, the Spanish admiral's ship, *San Martin*, had her mainmast shot away, and was otherwise so shattered, that according to their own account he must have struck, had he not been rescued by his vice-admirals *Recaldo* and *Mecia*, with whose assistance he renewed the fight ; when the English, again in want of ammunition, availed themselves of a shift of the wind, and bore away out of range of shot.

On the 26th, after the high-admiral had conferred the honour of knighthood upon Lord Thomas Howard and Lord Edmund Sheffield, along with Captains Townsend, Hawkins, and Frobisher, he held a council of war, in which it was resolved not to renew hostilities till the enemy reached the Straits of Dover, where the squadron under Lord Henry Seymour and Sir Thomas Winter waited to intercept them ; before that time it was hoped ammunition would arrive from the neighbouring ports. The Spaniards, accordingly, sailing up the Channel with a fair breeze from the south-west, made an imposing appearance ; and as the enemy hung on their rear, occasionally approaching, and for want of supplies only able to keep up a feeble fire, the alarm became universal throughout the maritime counties.

It was probably at this time, when the whole continent of Europe was intent on the progress of this immense armament, and eager for the first news from England, that the premature report was carried abroad of the complete success of the Armada. The news flew from France to Rome and Madrid. At Paris the Spanish ambassador Mendoza entered the church of Nôtre Dame, flourishing his naked sword above his head and shouting "Victoria!" while Cardinal Allen made a great feast at Rome, and invited to it all the English, Scotch, and Irish Roman Catholics, to commemorate the captivity of Elizabeth and the entire subjugation of her kingdom. Far other events, however, were passing in the Channel. As the Spanish fleet proceeded in its course crowds flocked to the beach; and vessels, pinnaces, and small boats, shot out from every harbour, eager to share in the glory of the battle. With these came many volunteers of high birth, the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas and Sir Robert Cecil, sons of Lord Burleigh, Sir Henry Brook, Sir Charles Blunt, Sir William Hatton, and many others.*

The Armada came to anchor before Calais on the 27th, and the generalissimo despatched an express to the Duke of Parma, requesting a reinforcement of forty fly-boats, without which he could not cope with the light and active ships of the enemy; and urging him to embark his army, which, under cover of his fire, might effect a landing. Had this message arrived a month earlier, as it would have done if the Spanish admiral had succeeded in his first attempt to reach the coast of England, an immediate movement would have taken place, and the consequence might have been fatal. But now the duke could not obey the orders. His boats, ill constructed at first, and of bad wood, were warped, leaky, and not seaworthy; his provisions were nearly exhausted; his troops weakened by desertion; whilst the fleet of Count Justin of Nassau blockaded Dunkirk and Nieuport, the only harbours from which he could put to sea.

* Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 547.

Disappointed of this assistance, Medina Sidonia still lay at anchor off Calais, where, watched by the English, he stationed his larger vessels so skilfully as to render it extremely difficult to throw them into confusion. But a stratagem of Howard deprived him of this advantage. Selecting eight of his smallest and least useful craft, they were stowed with combustibles; and two experienced officers, Captains Young and Prowse, conducted them at midnight to within a short distance of the Armada, fired the trains, and taking to their boats, left the blazing ships, which drifted straight down upon the enemy. The Spaniards were seized with terror, and conceiving they were of the same construction as one employed against them with dreadful effect during the siege of Antwerp, cut their cables, hoisted sail, and fled in confusion. The largest of the galleasses, having lost her rudder, was stranded near the town; and after a resolute defence, in which the captain and 400 men were slain, she was taken by the assailants, the rest of the vessels meanwhile escaping in every direction.

It was at this moment that Howard addressed the following letter to Walsingham, earnestly requesting more powder and shot:—

“SIR,—I have received your letter, wherein you desire a proportion of shot and powder to be set down by me, and sent unto you, which, by reason of the uncertainty of the service, no man can do; therefore I pray you to send with all speed as much as you can. And, because some of our ships are victualled but for a very short time, and my Lord Henry Seymour with his company not for one day, in like to pray you to despatch away our victuals with all possible speed; because we know not whether we shall be driven to pursue the Spanish fleet. This morning we drave a galleas ashore before Calais, whither I sent my long-boat to board her, where divers of my men were slain and my lieutenant sore hurt in the taking of her. Ever since, we have chased them in fight so, until this evening late, and dis-

tressed them much ; but their fleet consisteth of mighty ships and great strength, yet we doubt not by God's good assistance to oppress them.—And so I bid you heartily farewell. From aboard her majesty's good ship Ark, the 29th of July 1588. Your very loving friend,
 “ T. HOWARD.*

“ SIR,—I will not write unto her majesty before more be done. Their force is wonderful great and strong, and yet we pluck their feathers by little and little. I pray to God that the forces on the land be strong enough to answer so puissant a force. There is not one Flushing nor Hollander at the seas.”†

After the fire-ships exploded, the Spanish admiral made a signal for the fleet to resume their station ; his own and a few others regained their places ; but the greater number were so dispersed, that the officers could not even see the signals. Some lay near Gravelines ; others had run ashore on the coast of Flanders ; and to complete their disasters, the English, gaining the weather-gage, excluded them from Calais Road, and were able, at the same time, to intercept any succours from Dunkirk. When the next morning broke they renewed the attack on the scattered squadrons, and were every where successful. Drake, Hawkins, Fenton, Raleigh, and soon afterwards the high-admiral, the Earl of Cumberland, Lord Henry Seymour, and Sir Martin Frobisher, all brought their ships to bear with dreadful effect on the dispersed fragments of this gigantic force. A large galleon of Biscay and two ketches were sunk ; the Saint Matthew, commanded by Diego Piemontelli, in attempting to cover the San Philip, which was raked by the Rainbow and Vanguard, received a broadside from Peter Banderdue, a Dutchman, and immediately surrendered. Another vessel of the first class was stranded on the coast of Flanders ; and the San Philip, which had

* Signed by himself. The body of the letter in a clerk's hand.

† This last is in Howard's own hand.

been so vigorously assailed, having drifted in a disabled state as far as Ostend, was boarded and taken by the mariners of Flushing.

Every hour now increased the fury of the attack, and brought new courage to the English, who became assured of victory ; whilst the Spaniards, having abandoned all hope of landing, looked for their only safety in flight. This they attempted on the 29th, steering southward to the Straits of Calais ; but the wind shifting to the north-west, threatened to drive them on the coast of Zealand, where the sands and shallows would have proved worse enemies than even the warlike subjects of Elizabeth. The breeze, however, again suddenly veered to south-west, and enabled them to tack and regain the open sea.

At night, the Duke de Medina Sidonia called a council ; and on considering the state of the fleet, the inactivity of the Duke of Parma, and the superiority of their antagonists, who had yet lost only one small vessel, it was unanimously resolved to sail round Scotland, and return to Spain by the Orkneys and Ireland.* At this period, after their last encounter on the 29th, Sir Francis Drake addressed the following spirited letter to Secretary Walsingham, directing his Spanish prisoners, Don Pedro de Valdez and other officers taken in action, to be presented to the queen :—

“ MOST HONOURABLE,—I am commanded to send these prisoners ashore by my lord-admiral, which had ere this been long done, but that I thought their being here might have done something, which is not thought meet now. Let me beseech your honour that they may be presented unto her Majesty, either by your honour or my honourable good lord my lord-chancellor, or both of ye. Their Don Pedro is a man of great estimation with the King of Spayne, and thought next in his army to the Duke of Sidonia. That they should be given

* Sir William Monson's True and Exact Account of the Wars with Spain, p. 14, in Townshend's Historical Collections.

from me unto any other, it would be some grief to my friends. If her majesty will have them, God defend but I should think it happy. We have the army of Spayne before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a fall with them. There was never any thing pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a south wind to the northwards. God grant they have a good eye to the Duke of Parma; for with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia as he shall wish himself at St Marie among his orange-trees. God give us grace to depend upon Him, so shall we not doubt victory, for our cause is good.—Humbly taking my leave, this last of July 1588, your honour's faithfully to be commanded ever,

“FRA. DRAKE.

“P.S. I crave pardon of your honour for my haste, for that I had to watch this last night upon the enemy.”*

The Spanish admiral now retreated by the north, the hostile squadrons hanging upon his rear, sometimes engaging in close action, at others seizing disabled vessels, sinking the smaller craft, towing off those driven ashore, and dividing the spoil amongst their crews. But at the moment when the total destruction of the enemy appeared inevitable, the English ships again fell short of ammunition, and were obliged to abandon the chase. This untoward circumstance was occasioned partly by the ill-judged economy of the queen's minister, and partly also by the neglect of the coast counties in sending deficient supplies for their own ships. “The opportunity was lost,” says Sir William Monson, “not through the negligence or backwardness of the lord-admiral, but merely through the want of providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the fleet; for, at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found

* This characteristic letter is now correctly published for the first time. The original is in the State-paper Office. It is to be found, but incorrectly given, in Hardwicke's State Papers.

a general scarcity of powder and shot, for want of which they were forced to return home." Scarcely, however, had the Spaniards got rid of one enemy before they were attacked by another still more irresistible;—a violent hurricane, the frequent visitant of these northern seas, drove them upon the neighbouring coasts. Many were wrecked on the shores of Ireland; many on the Orkneys, the coasts of Galloway, Argyle, or the Western Islands; whilst a division, driven back into the English Channel, fell into the hands of the queen's cruisers or those of her allies. Of 132 ships only 53 returned to Spain, and these so shattered and cut to pieces, with crews so worn out with cold, hunger, and sickness, that the impression made by their appearance was almost as great a calamity as the defeat.

Such was the fate of the memorable Armada,—a fleet of which the Spaniards proudly predicted "that victory must attend it whithersoever it turned its course, and that no English ships would ever dare to intercept it." Its discomfiture was in every respect important; but chiefly so on account of the triumph it secured for the Protestant faith over the tyranny of the Church of Rome. Under God, England and its high-minded queen were at that moment the great bulwarks of liberty of conscience and liberty of person in Europe. To crush these, Philip concentrated his utmost powers; assembled armies; impressed seamen; put every vessel belonging to himself or his allies into requisition; exhausted his exchequer; drew upon the private fortunes of his nobles; and wearied his wisest counsellors in devising the best way of attack. At last, after three years of incessant activity, he despatched that prodigious armament, which was to sweep his enemies from the seas; to reduce Britain to the state of a conquered province; and to establish on its ruins the tribunal of the Inquisition, and the iron fabric of a despotic government. We have seen the issue of these schemes: They were defeated by that Almighty arm which in an instant can bring confusion upon the wisest plans and the most formidable prepara-

tions of mortal ambition. Any one who patiently examines the history of this great enterprise,—not in the abstract given by popular historians, but in the more minute details of contemporary chroniclers,—will discern many circumstances in which the hand of God, at all times overruling the springs of human action, comes out as it were from behind the cloudy curtain that conceals him from his creatures. The sudden death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, whose naval talents were of the highest order, after he had been nominated to the command, led to the appointment of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman totally unfitted for such a post; the circumstance of Philip's original orders being departed from; the intelligence carried by Fleming the pirate; the insufficiency of Parma's boats and the weakness of his army; the calms which paralyzed the heavy vessels of the Armada but gave little impediment to the manœuvres of their lighter enemies; the extraordinary changes of wind during the battle, and the dreadful storms which completed their destruction,—all were manifestly providential; and amidst the excitement of victory and the universal joy with which it was welcomed by the nation, the queen herself and her renowned captains were not backward to acknowledge the overruling might of God, and to ascribe the whole triumph to Him alone. A medal was struck by Elizabeth's orders, with the inscription "*Afflavit Deus et dissipantur;*" and a form of prayer and thanksgiving for the occasion appointed to be used throughout the kingdom. "It was," says Sir William Monson, one of the queen's ablest commanders, "the will of Him that directs all men and their actions, that the fleets should meet and the enemy be beaten as they were; that they should be put from their anchorage in Calais road whilst the Prince of Parma was beleaguered at sea, and their navy driven about Scotland and Ireland with great hazard and loss; which showeth how God did marvellously defend us against their dangerous designs. By this, too, we may discern how weak and feeble are the schemes of man in

respect of the Creator of man, and how impartially he dealt between the two nations, sometimes giving to the one sometimes to the other the advantage, yet so that He alone supereminently ordered the battle.”*

The rejoicings for so signal a victory were interrupted by the royal grief for the death of the Earl of Leicester ; and although the people beheld his obsequies with little regret, respect for the queen kept them silent. On the 8th of September eleven banners taken from the Spanish navy were publicly displayed, and afterwards hung over London Bridge ; but it was not till the 24th of November that Elizabeth exhibited herself to her faithful subjects in the garb of festivity and joy. On this day, being Sunday, attended by her privy-council, surrounded by a brilliant concourse of nobility, with the foreign ambassadors, the judges and bishops, she made a procession to St Paul's, seated in a magnificent chariot-throne, raised on four pillars, and surmounted by a canopy, with an imperial crown on the top. It was drawn by two white horses, and ornamented by a lion and a dragon supporting the arms of England. Around it marched the queen's footmen and pensioners, after whom came the Earl of Essex leading her horse of state richly caparisoned, followed by the ladies of honour, and on each side the royal guard, commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh sumptuously apparelled and armed. At Temple Bar she was received by the lord-mayor and aldermen ; and amid the sounds of martial music and the shouts of the companies and trade-corporations, marshalled under their various banners, she proceeded to St Paul's. Elizabeth now, falling on her knees, returned thanks to the God of battles who had so signally blest her arms with victory ; after which the litany was sung by the whole body of clergy. She then drove back in the same state to her palace at Somerset House by torch-light, amid the acclamations of her subjects.†

* Sir Wm. Monson's True Account of the Wars in Spain, p. 14.

† Nichol's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 63-65.

Raleigh's services at this time were rewarded by an augmentation to his patent of wines, which gave him the right to levy tonnage and poundage upon these liquors,—one of the most profitable favours ever conferred on him.

The mind of this singular person appears to have been in a state of perpetual activity, and occupied by a variety of projects. Amid the vicissitudes of naval enterprise, the anxieties of foreign invasion, and a constant attendance at court, he found time to attend to the interests of science, and to frame the outline of a plan for a more extensive correspondence among literary men. This is shown by his setting up what he termed "an office of address," in which, even through the obscure and imperfect hints preserved by Lloyd, we may perhaps detect the first germ of those societies which have since become so common throughout Europe. Of such an association the original idea had been given by Montaigne. In a letter of Evelyn's we find the project described, as "that long-dried fountain of communication which Montaigne first proposed, Sir Walter Raleigh put in practice, and Mr Hartlib endeavoured to revive." It appears, to employ the words of Sir William Petty in a communication to this last, to have been a plan "whereby the wants and designs of all may be made known to all. Where men may know what is already done in the business of learning; what is at present in doing, and what is intended to be done; to the end, that by such a general communication of designs and mutual assistance, the wits and endeavours of the world may no longer be as so many scattered coals, which, for want of union are soon quenched; whereas, being but laid together, they would have yielded a comfortable light and heat. For, methinks, the present condition of men," continues this writer, "is like a field where, a battle having been lately fought, we see many legs, arms, and organs of sense, lying here and there, which, for want of conjunction, and a soul to quicken and enliven them, are fit for nothing but to feed the ravens and infect the air: so we see many wits and ingenuities

dispersed up and down the world, whereof some are now labouring to do what is already done, and puzzling themselves to reinvent what is already invented; others we see quite stuck fast in difficulties for want of a few directions, which some other man, might he be met withal, both could and would most easily give him. Again, one man wants a small sum of money to carry on some design that requires it; and there is perhaps another, who has twice as much ready to bestow upon the same design; but, these two having no means ever to hear the one of the other, the good work intended and desired by both parties does utterly perish and come to nothing.”* From these expressions we may gather that Raleigh had felt, and even attempted to correct, the great inconvenience under which science laboured, from the want of that universal mode of communication which has been supplied in later times by the institution of societies of learned men in every country in Europe, and by the wide diffusion of their discoveries through the medium of the press.

From the contemplation of schemes for the improvement of science his thoughts were diverted to a service of a very opposite description. Antonio, king of Portugal, who had been deprived of his crown by Philip of Spain, was a refugee at the court of Elizabeth; and this princess, after the destruction of the Armada, determined to retaliate upon the Spaniards, and replace that monarch upon his throne. Economy, however, in her military undertakings was with her a distinguishing characteristic; and she was seldom inclined to draw heavily upon her exchequer when she could accomplish her object by the contributions of her subjects. At this moment the military spirit of the nation was so highly excited, that the call was readily answered; and the queen soon saw an army of volunteers 16,000 strong, with a formidable fleet provided at the expense of private gentlemen, many of whom personally embarked in the

* Oldys's Life, pp. 115, 116.

service. Amongst these adventurers was Raleigh, who has left us in his *History of the World* some interesting particulars of the enterprise. To this force Elizabeth added six of her own men-of-war, and contributed a sum of £60,000. The command of the fleet being intrusted to Drake, and of the land-forces to Norris, the expedition sailed on the 14th of April 1589, looking forward to nothing less than the conquest of the kingdom of Portugal.

A difference of opinion took place in the outset between these veterans, who were both of the highest skill in their own peculiar department, but too equal in power, and too confident in their own judgment, to act well together. Norris insisted that they should first attempt a descent at the Groyne (Corunna), where Spain was preparing a new armament for the invasion of England; after which he purposed to march to Lisbon, whilst the fleet was to sail up the river, and second the operations of the land-force. Against this Drake strongly remonstrated, his plan being to proceed directly to Lisbon, and attack the enemy before they had time to prepare themselves,—an advice which, had it been followed, would in all probability have led to complete success. But the obstinacy of Norris carried the day, and at first every thing appeared to favour his design. The army landed in the Bay of Ferrol, took the lower town of Corunna, defeated the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos, and invested the higher town. From this moment, however, all went against them. He had no heavy artillery to effect a breach; the rocky foundation of the city defied the efforts of the miners; a pestilential disorder broke out in the camp, which thinned the ranks and dispirited the soldiers; and after some time the army re-embarked, and directed their course towards Portugal.

But it was now too late. The Spaniards, as Drake had anticipated, availing themselves of the delay, had fortified the capital, and defended the entrance of the river by so strong a battery, that the admiral considered it madness to attempt the passage. In these circumstances nothing remained but to re-embark the army,

after they had partially occupied the suburbs; and the expedition returned to England with the loss of 6000 men by sickness. If we may believe Birch, of 1100 gentlemen who embarked, only 350 survived to reach their native country.* The enterprise, however, was not wholly unproductive; for on their homeward voyage they took sixty vessels bound for Lisbon, laden with stores. Raleigh and other private adventurers also made prizes of many Easterling hulks, which it was regretted that for want of men they could not carry home. On his return the queen was so highly satisfied with his conduct, that she presented him, in common with others who had distinguished themselves, with a gold chain.†

Amongst some unarranged manuscripts in the State-paper Office, I found, some time since, two characteristic letters of Sir Francis Drake, written to England during this expedition. The first was addressed from the Groyne to Mr Wooley. It is brief and blunt:—

“I have neither matter nor leisure to write long. We saw Spain the 23d of April. We landed at Groyne the 24th. We took the lower town of Groyne the 25th with four great ships, divers barks, and 150 pieces of ordnance. The 6th day of May we gave the enemy a great overthrow, wherein were slain near a thousand Spaniards. We have done the King of Spain many pretty services here at this place, yet I believe he will not thank us. I desire of God that the want of meat and powder be not urgent. Five thousand pound in victual before our going out of England to that in hand, and two thousand pounds in powder, surely would have yielded her majesty and country much greatness. The King of Spain spareth not, nor wanteth no will to do us hurt. God grant we may prevent him! Humbly taking leave, I beseech God to bless us all and give us grace to live in his fear. From the Groyne, this 8th May 1589. Your honour's faithfully,

“FRANCIS DRAKE.”

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 61.

† Birch's Life of Raleigh, p. 589.

The second to Secretary Walsingham is more detailed and not less spirited :—

“ MOST HONOURABLE,—The best I can write is, that I presently believe the enemy will not trouble England suddenly. For first, we have destroyed very many of his provisions at Groyne, and so have we done at Lisbon ; and what we ourselves could not well destroy, that hath the enemy burnt himself, as corn, wine, rusk, oil, flesh, and fish, and many other provisions which the king had caused to be provided for some new army. The taking of this their store, and all sails of hulks, fly-boats, and burthens laden with corn and other provisions, will be a great hindrance to his purposes. There is a great want of corn generally among the people, yet had the king great store of all provisions in his storehouses. If we had not been commanded to the contrary, but had first landed at Lisbon, all had been as we would have desired it ; but God thought it not meet. I assure your honour our sickness is very much, both of our soldiers and mariners. God mitigate it according to his good will and pleasure ! We are not yet thoroughly resolved what service we shall next take in hand : and for that there is as yet no supplies come out of England, it causeth our men to droop, and desire much to go for England ; but if God will bless us with some little comfortable dew, realen [*sic*], some crowns, or some seasonable bounty for our soldiers and mariners, all will take good heart again although they were half dead. To want meat, munition, and liberty, is too heavy a burthen for a soldier to bear ; specially when they must command their people living far from their own country. Thus humbly taking my leave, desiring pardon for my plainness of your honour, praying unto God we may have all power to live in his fear. Written this 2d of June 1589. With yours humbly to be commanded,

“ FRANCIS DRAKE.

“ To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majesty.”

Many years after, during his captivity in the Tower, Raleigh, in writing his History of the World, drew from the fortunes of this expedition some excellent conclusions regarding the precautions to be taken by Britain against foreign invasion. "And to say the truth," he observes, "it is impossible for any maritime country, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend itself against a powerful enemy that is master of the sea. Hereof I had rather that Spain than England should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed that Philip the Second had fully resolved to hinder Sir John Norris, in the year 1589, from presenting Don Antonio, king of Portugal, before the gates of Lisbon; and that he would have kept off the English by power of his land-forces, as being too weak at sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armada by the fleet of Queen Elizabeth in the year foregoing. Surely it had not been hard for him to prepare an army that should be able to resist our 11,000. But where should this his army have been bestowed? If about Lisbon, then would it have been easy unto the English to take, ransack, and burn the town of Groyne, and to waste the country round about it; for the great and threatening preparations of the Earl of Altemira, the Marquis of Seralba, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hasty levy of 8000, under the Earl of Andrada, serve to more effect than the increase of honour to Sir John Norris and his associates; considering, that the English charged these at Puente de Burgos, and passing the great bridge behind which they lay, that was flanked with shot and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, took their camp, took their general's standard with the king's arms, and pursued them over all the country, which they fired. If a royal army, and not, as this was, a company of private adventurers, had thus begun the war in Galicia, I think it would have made the Spaniards to quit the guard of Portugal, and make haste to the defence of their Saint Jago, whose temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution, as knowing that Sir

John Norris's main intent was to bring Don Antonio with an army into his kingdom, whither coming strong, ye expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed, could they have hindered his landing in Portugal? Did he not land at Penicha, and march over the country to Lisbon, six days' journey? Did not he, when all Don Antonio's promises failed, pass along by the river of Lisbon to Cascaliz, and there, having won the fort, quietly embark his men and depart?"* So ably, we see, did this remarkable man, out of the fruits of former experience, extract the spirit of counsel and wisdom against parallel difficulties.

When Norris was on his way from Corunna to Portugal, he was joined by the Earl of Essex, who, unknown to the queen, of whom he was then the reigning favourite, had stolen from England, with the ardour of a young knight eager to share in the dangers of the enterprise. With him came his tried follower Sir Roger Williams, a veteran bred in Germany under the great Condé, and who afterwards served in Spain with much credit. Between this soldier, whose manners, if we may judge from his style of writing, were blunt and overbearing, and the ambitious and courteous Raleigh, there occurred a difference which brought down upon him the enmity of the earl, who warmly espoused the quarrel of his friend.† Had this animosity continued, it might have drawn after it consequences fatal to Sir Walter. But it seems at this time to have been of short duration, although afterwards they were thrown by the course of events into rival factions.

Essex was in truth an extraordinary man; and it is

* History of the World, vol. vi. pp. 98, 99.

† We have seen, however (supra, p. 62), that the enmity of Essex was of older standing; and although it is difficult to trace the early rivalry of courtiers, it is not unlikely that, as some authors of the time conjecture, Leicester, getting jealous of the rising fortunes of Raleigh, brought Essex, his stepson, to court, that he might draw off from Sir Walter the excessive partiality of the queen. The event showed Leicester's knowledge of the character of his mistress; for, from the moment of his arrival at court, Essex became the pre-eminent favourite. It is certain, however, that any animosity which existed between him and Raleigh was soon, at least apparently, composed.

easy to conceive that, not only from his influence over the queen but his own excellent qualities, Sir Walter should, notwithstanding the disparity of their years, have been desirous of his friendship. Introduced at court when only seventeen, and executed in his thirty-fourth year, it is impossible, when we consider how much greatness was crowded into this brief space, to withhold from him our pity and admiration. His fortune and patronage were lavished upon his friends with unexampled generosity. He was an accomplished scholar and an excellent commander, though he sometimes forgot the prudence of the general in the ardour of the knight; and, young as he was, he had studied the foreign policy of England with an acuteness which, in regard to the expediency of a war with Spain, led him to a more judicious conclusion than was suggested even by the matured experience of Burleigh. His few state-papers are written with an elegance far superior to his age; and the scheme of government which he had adopted for Ireland, instead of meriting that burst of indignation which refused to be satisfied with any thing short of his disgrace, is marked by a deep and intimate knowledge of the real interests of that misgoverned country. There was even something great in the qualities which hastened his fall. Had he compromised his own dignity and uprightness, by humouring the foibles and flattering the vanity of the queen, he might have retained his influence and defied his enemies; but while she treated him alternately with the fondness of a love-sick mistress and the rage of a royal tyrant; whilst at the venerable age of sixty-eight she exhibited all the phases of the tender passion,—smiling, weeping, caressing, reproaching, now admitting him to her bedside, and next moment fulminating a sentence of perpetual banishment, he grew tired of such absurdity, and disdained to continue the slave of so strange and imperious a passion. Some writers have given themselves much trouble in forming theories to account for the sudden rise of Essex at court. Born, as he was, to greatness, it would have been far more extraordinary

had he not risen. He was by his mother related to the queen, besides being of noble lineage by the father,—circumstances which Elizabeth never overlooked. His guardian was her great minister Burleigh; his tutor the famous Whitgift, afterwards primate of England; and at ten years old, soon after his father's death, it was said of him by Waterhouse, who was no mean judge, that there was then no man so strong in friends as the little Earl of Essex. The principal cause, no doubt, of his rapid exaltation to power, greater than any former favourite possessed, was the romantic partiality of his royal mistress; but, independently of this, his own abilities, fortune, and station must have brought him into notice. At the time of which we now write (the expedition to Lisbon) his age was not above twenty-two, and Elizabeth had already loaded him with favours, created him general of horse in the camp at Tilbury, and given him the order of the Garter.

To return to Raleigh: It is the opinion of some authors, that about this time a coolness, perhaps an actual quarrel, had occurred between him and Essex; and there is a contemporary letter preserved by Birch, which affirms that "My Lord of Essex had chased Raleigh from court;" but the whole story is obscure. It is certain that, whether from necessity or convenience, he repaired to Ireland, and after examining his estates there, visited Spenser at Kilcolman, where the poet then resided. Amid all his cares and ambition, Sir Walter had never deserted the muses; and he now renewed with ardour his friendship with their favourite son. He and the bard had become acquainted during the havoc and tumult of war. But the country was now at peace; and in the romantic castle, which the royal bounty had made the property of the poet, their literary studies were pursued with mutual profit and delight. Of this meeting Spenser, in his beautiful pastoral, entitled "Colin Clout's come Home again," has left an account, disguised indeed by the colouring of a poetical imagination, but "agreeing," he informs us, "with the truth in circumstance and matter."*

* Dedication of Colin Clout to Sir Walter Raleigh.



PORTRAIT OF EDMUND SPENSER.

Raleigh visited Spenser at Killoolman where the poet then resided. Amid all his cares and ambition, Sir Walter never deserted the muses, and he now renewed with ardour his friendship for their favourite son.—Page 102.

He represents himself, while seated under the green alders by the romantic river Mulla meditating his rural minstrelsy, as suddenly addressed by a stranger who calls himself the *Shepherd of the Ocean*,—describing Raleigh under this fanciful appellation.

“ One day (quoth he) I sat, as was my trade,
 Under the foot of Mole, that mountain here,
 Keeping my sheep amongst the cool shade
 Of the green alders by the Mulla's shore ;
 There a strange shepherd chanced to find me out,—
 Whether allured with my pipe's delight,
 Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,
 Or thither led by chance, I knew not right,—
 Whom, when I asked from what place he came,
 And how he hight ? himself he did yleep
 The Shepherd of the Ocean by name,
 And said, he came far from the main sea deep.
 He, sitting me beside in that same shade,
 Provoked me to play some pleasant fit ;
 And when he heard the musick which I made,
 He found himself full greatly pleased at it.”*

The stranger soon after borrows the pastoral reed of Colin Clout, and in tuneful rivalry displays his cunning in the art :—

“ Yet, æmuling my pipe, he took in hond
 My pipe, before that æmuled of many,
 And played thereon, (for well that skill he conn'd,)
 Himself as skilful in that art as any.
 He piped, I sung ; and, when he sung, I piped ;
 By change of turns, each making other merry ;
 Neither envying other, nor envied :
 So piped we, until we both were weary.”†

Thestylyis, one of the “swains that did about him play,” inquires what was the ditty sung by Raleigh ; and Spenser's answer, making allowance for its poetical drapery, corroborates the idea that he was suffering under the temporary displeasure of Elizabeth, whom he styles *Cynthia the Lady of the Sea* :—

“ That shall I eke (quoth he) to you declare,—
 His song was all a lamentable lay
 Of great unkindness and of usage hard,
 Of Cynthia the Lady of the Sea,
 Which from her presence, faultless, him debarr'd :

* Todd's Spenser, vol. viii. p. 8.

† Ibid. p. 9.

And ever and anon with singulfs rife,
 He cried out, to make his undersong,—
 Ah ! my love's queen, and goddess of my life !
 Who shall me pity when thou dost me wrong ?”*

The Shepherd of the Ocean, pitying that luckless lot which had banished Colin into a waste where he was forgotten, persuaded this tuneful wight to wend with him to behold his Cynthia,—in plain prose, Raleigh invited Spenser to court, that he might be introduced to the queen. The voyage to England, the wonders of the deep, and the noble description of the vessel huge “that danced upon the waters back to lond,” must be familiar to all the lovers of English poetry in its best days. The description of the happiness of his country under the maiden queen, as contrasted with the miseries which the poet had lately witnessed, is striking and beautiful :—

“ Both heaven and heavenly graces do much more
 (Quoth he) abound in that same land than this ;
 For there all happy peace and plenteous store
 Conspire in one to make contented bliss.
 No wailing there—nor wretchedness is heard ;
 No bloody issues—nor no leprosy ;
 No griesly famine—nor no raging swerd ;
 No nightly bordrags†—nor no hue and cries.
 The shepherds there abroad may safely lie
 On hills and downs, withouten dread or danger.
 No ravenous wolves the good man's hope destroy ;
 No outlaws fell affray the forest ranger ;
 There learned arts do flourish in great honour ;
 And poets' wits are had in peerless price ;
 Religion hath lay power to rest upon her,
 Advancing virtue and suppressing vice.
 For end, all good, all grace there freely grows,
 Had people grace it gratefully to use ;
 For God his gifts there plenteously bestows,
 But graceless men them greatly do abuse.” ‡

But the visit of Raleigh had more important consequences. During his residence at Kilcolman, Spenser submitted to him the three first cantos of his *Fairy Queen*, then in an unfinished state. It is a common

* Todd's Spenser, vol. viii. p. 13. † *Bordrags*, border ravages.
 ‡ Todd's Spenser, vol. viii. p. 20.

opinion that the poet was encouraged to commence this great work by the patronage of Sir Philip Sidney.* It appears to have been the reverse. The knight, with Dyer, a youthful critic of those times, and a fantastic person named Gabriel Harvey, employed every effort to dissuade this great writer from attempting any composition in rhyme; and I strongly suspect that it is to the discernment of Raleigh we owe the first publication of his noble work. There are extant repeated letters from Harvey, in which he congratulates Spenser, who had begun but thrown aside his romantic poem, on becoming a convert to a capricious scheme for the expulsion of rhyme from English literature, and reducing the structure of our versification within the rules of Latin prosody. Of this project Sidney and Dyer were the chief promoters; and, instead of applauding the Knight of Penshurst as the patron of the Fairy Queen, it is difficult, without some indignation, to read his frigid criticism upon its author,† and his good friend Master Gabriel Harvey's ridiculous and tasteless remarks upon the portion which had been submitted to him, without trembling for the probable consequences. Had this delightful poet listened to their pedantic dogmatism, the shades of Penshurst might have become the grave of the Fairy Queen. The reader is perhaps not aware how nearly this catastrophe had happened:—"And now," says Spenser, in one of his early letters to Harvey, "they (Sidney and Dyer) have proclaimed in their Areopago a general surceasing and silence of *bald rhymers*, and also of the very best too; instead whereof they have, by authority of their whole senate, prescribed certain laws and rules of quantities of English syllables for English verse, having had thereof already great practice, and drawn me to their faction."‡ And in the same letter, a little after, he observes, "But I am of late

* Oldys's Life, p. 125. Cayley's Life, p. 113. Todd's Life of Spenser, p. liii.

† Defence of Poesy, p. 513.

‡ Todd's Life, vol. i. p. xx.

more in love with my English versifying than with rhyming, which I should have done long since, if I would then have followed your counsel." Happily his adoption of these opinions only made him abandon for a time his great work, which he probably did not resume till some years after. On being visited, however, by Raleigh, his ardour for the new scheme of poetical reformation had cooled, and he produced the unfinished cantos. The effect seems to have been immediate. With the intuition of real genius, the Shepherd of the Ocean at once detected the pure ore of heavenly poesy. He was no adept in the new school of taste.* He thought probably, with the witty satirist Nash, that the "Hexameter Verse, though granted to be a gentleman of ancient house, yet was not likely to thrive in this clime of ours, the soil being too craggy for him to set his plough in." He had himself in his youthful days written some beautiful pieces. One stanza of his reply to the Passionate Shepherdess is worth the united lucubrations of Sidney, Dyer, and Gabriel Harvey. He invited Spenser to accompany him to England; the consequence was, the poet's introduction to Queen Elizabeth, and the publication of the first three books of the *Fairy Queen*, dedicated, in the first instance, "To the Most High, Mightie, and Magnificent Emperesse Elizabeth," and introduced to the reader's notice and "better understanding" by a letter to Raleigh, explaining the intention of the author in the course of his work, which he describes as a continued allegory or dark conceit.

From all this we see that Sir Walter fully appreciated the pre-eminent merit of his friend; whilst Sidney, Dyer, and Harvey, would have turned him from the field where he was destined to acquire such glory, and persuaded him, with perverted taste, to devote himself

* Zouch, in his *Life of Sidney*, p. 153, without any authority, enlists Raleigh as a follower of the new school. Every evidence that remains shows the reverse.

to their fantastic projects. Raleigh however anticipated the judgment of Milton and Dryden, and the sentence pronounced by every succeeding age of English literature. In his introductory stanzas to the poet, he does not hesitate to prefer the music of his sweet shell to that of every other native author ;* and in a beautiful sonnet, which we cannot refrain from quoting, he assigns to him a higher rank than Petrarch, predicting the triumph of the Fairy Queen over the spotless mistress of the Italian bard :—

“ Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay,
 Within that temple where the vestal flame
 Was wont to burn ; and passing by that way
 To see that buried dust of living fame,
 Whose tomb fair Love and fairer Virtue kept :
 All suddenly I saw the Fairy Queen ;
 At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept,
 And, from thenceforth, those Graces were not seen :
 For they this queen attended, in whose stead
 Oblivion laid him down on Laura's hearse ;
 Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
 And groans of buried ghosts the heavens did pierce ;
 Where Homer's spright did tremble all for griefe,
 And cursed th' access of that celestial thiefe.”

To Raleigh, on the other hand, whose tuneful numbers had thus shadowed out his coming fame, Spenser addressed a sonnet, which, with many others now little read but worthy of all praise, is prefixed to his poem :—

“ To thee, that art the summer's nightingale,
 Thy sovaine goddess's most dear delight,
 Why do I send this rustick madrigale,
 That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite ?
 Thou only fit this argument to write,
 In whose high thoughts Pleasure hath built her boure,
 And dainty Love learned sweetly to indite :
 My rhimes I know unsav'ry are and soure,
 To taste the streames which, like a golden shoure,
 Flow from thy fruitful head, of thy love's praise,
 Fitter perhaps to thunder martial stoure,
 When so thee list thy lofty muse to raise :
 Yet till that thou thy poeme wilt make knowne,
 Let thy faire Cynthia's praises be thus rudely showne.”

* “ Of me no lines are loved, nor letters are of price,
 Of all that speak our English tongue, but those of thy device.”

It appears from this sonnet, and from Spenser's letters, that the Ocean Shepherd had written a poem in praise of Elizabeth under the name of Cynthia. In two fine stanzas of the introduction to the third book of the *Fairy Queen*, containing the Legend of Britomartis or Chastity, allusion is again made to the poem of Raleigh:—

“ But if in living colours and right hue
Thyself thou covet to see pictured,
Who can it do more lively, or more true,
Than that sweet verse, with nectar sprinkled,
In which a gracious servant pictured
His Cynthia, his heaven's fairest light ?
That with his melting sweetness ravished,
And with the wonder of her beamés bright,
My senses lulled are in slumber of delight.

“ But let that same delicious poet lend
A little leave unto a rustick muse
To sing his mistress' praise ; and let him mend,
If aught amiss her liking may abuse :
Ne let his fairest Cynthia refuse
In mirrours more than one herself to see ;
But either Gloriana let her choose,
Or in Belphebe fashioned to be ;
In th' one her rule, in th' other her rare chastitie.”

Fairy Queen, b. iii. *Intro.* §§ 4, 5.

The work thus highly praised by Spenser,—the “sweet verse with nectar sprinkled,”—has perished ; yet enough of his poetry remains to justify the encomium of Colin Clout.*

But though I have ventured to maintain that the common opinion, which connects the *Fairy Queen* with the patronage of Sidney, is erroneous, and that to Raleigh's enthusiastic praise is to be ascribed the first appearance of that delightful poem, it is far from my wish to depreciate the real merits of the Knight of Penshurst. Of this jewel of his time Horace Walpole's character is too severe, and that of his biographer Zouch too encomiastic. Respecting his universality of talent some remarks have been already given ; and there is a unity and propriety about him which provoked Walpole,

* Another allusion to Raleigh will be found in the fourth book of the *Fairy Queen*, canto vii. § 36.

who delighted in detecting foibles. That he possessed high or original genius, no one who has lulled himself asleep over his interminable Arcadia will hastily affirm. His patronage of the poet was kind, and the latter immeasurably repaid it by embalming his memory in his "Astrophel," one of the most finished and beautiful elegies in the English language; but it is evident his taste was vitiated, and that he failed to appreciate the true excellence of Spenser's genius. The lowly lays which Sidney encouraged him to sing, were probably the uncouth attempts of their new school of poetry to destroy the lofty fabric of English rhyme. It is to Raleigh, if to any one, we owe the restoration of the bard to the regions where he could soar freely with his singing-ropes about him,—a service to the literature of his country which ought not soon to be forgotten.

How long Sir Walter remained in Ireland is uncertain; but from the following letter to his kinsman Sir George Carew, dated December 1589, the displeasure of the queen seems to have been of short continuance:—

"COUSEN GEORGE,—For my retreat from the court it was upon good cause, to take order for my prize. If in Ireland they think that I am not worth the respecting, they shall much deceive themselves. I am in place to be believed not inferior to any man, to pleasure or displeasure the greatest, and my opinion is so received and believed as I can anger the best of them; and therefore, if the Deputy be not as ready to stead me as I have been to defend him, be as it may. When Sir William Fitzwilliams shall be in England, I take myself far his betters by the honourable offices I hold, as also by that nighness to her majesty, which still I enjoy, and never more. I am willing to continue towards him all friendly offices, and I doubt not of the like from him, as well towards me as my friends."*

* Published by Todd, *Life of Spenser*, vol. i. p. xciv. from the original in the Carew MS. in the Lambeth Palace, No. 605.

Raleigh's reviving influence, however proudly it is asserted in this letter, was benevolently employed. It saved from death Mr John Udall, a pious minister, whose zeal for the reformation of Episcopacy had offended the queen, and brought down upon him the vengeance of her bishops and judges. He also interceded in behalf of a brave officer named Spring, to whom the government owed a large sum, which was unjustly withheld, although the veteran had received many wounds in her majesty's service. It is reported that Elizabeth, somewhat irritated at these and similar applications for the unfortunate, on his telling her one day he had a favour to ask, impatiently exclaimed, "When, Sir Walter, will you cease to be a beggar?" To which he made the noted answer, "When your gracious majesty ceases to be a benefactor."*

It was about this time he published a vindication of the memory of Sir Richard Grenville, a brave and able naval commander during the reign of Elizabeth. This officer had been blamed for his conduct in the expedition against the Spanish Plate-fleet at the Azores,—an enterprise projected by Sir Walter, and in which the other lost his life under circumstances that not only shield him from censure, but entitle him to the highest praise. The action was so extraordinary, that it well merits recital: Its object was to surprise the Spanish fleet when it rendezvoused at the Azores on its return from America. For this purpose Lord Thomas Howard sailed from England with six of the queen's ships, six victuallers, and some pinnaces; Sir Richard Grenville being vice-admiral in the *Revenge*. Having set out in the spring of 1591, they waited six months at Flores in expectation of their prize. Philip, however, obtaining intelligence of their design, despatched Don Alphonso Bacan with fifty-three ships of war to act as convoy. So secure had the English become by protracted delay, that this armament was bearing down upon them before they had

* Oldys's Life, pp. 137, 142.

the least suspicion of its approach. Most of the crews were on shore providing water, ballast, and other necessaries, and many were disabled by sickness. To hurry on board, weigh anchor, and leave the place with the utmost speed, was their only safety; and Grenville, upon whom the charge of the details at this pressing crisis was imposed, was the last upon the spot, superintending the embarkation, and receiving his men on board, which, owing to the great number of his sick required a long time. Thus detained, he found it impossible to recover the wind, and there was no alternative but either to cut his mainsail, tack about, and flee with all speed, or remain and fight it out single-handed. It was to this desperate resolution that he adhered. "Through the greatness of his spirit," says Raleigh, "he utterly refused to turn from the enemy, protesting he would rather die than be guilty of such dishonour to himself, his country, and her majesty's ship. His design was to force the squadron of Seville, which was on his weather-bow, to give way; and such was the impetuosity of his attack that it was on the point of being successful. Divers of the Spaniards, springing their loof, as the sailors of those times termed it, brought their ships' heads nearer the wind, during which manœuvre the Saint Philip, a galleon of 1500 tons, coming down on the Revenge, becalmed her sails so completely that she could neither make way nor obey the helm. The enemy carried three tier of guns on each side, and discharged eight foreright from her chase, besides those of her stern-ports. At the moment Sir Richard was thus entangled, four other galleons bore up and boarded him, two on his larboard and two on his starboard. The close fight began at three in the afternoon and continued with some slight intermission for fifteen hours, during which time Grenville, unsupported, sustained the reiterated attack of fifteen Spanish ships, the rest not being able to engage in close fire. The unwieldy Saint Philip, having received a broadside from the lower tier of the Revenge, shifted with all speed, and avoided the repetition of such a

salute ; but still as one was beaten off another supplied the vacant place. Two galleons were sunk, and two others so handled as to lie complete wrecks upon the water ; yet it was evident no human power could save Sir Richard's vessel. Although wounded in the beginning of the action, its brave commander for eight hours refused to leave the upper-deck. He was then shot through the body, and as his wound was dressing he received another musket-ball, and saw the surgeon slain at his side. Such was the state of things during the night ; but the darkness concealed the full extent of the calamity. As the light broke, a melancholy spectacle presented itself. "Now," says Raleigh, "was to be seen nothing but the naked hull of a ship, and that almost a skeleton, having received eight hundred shot of great artillery, and some under water ; her deck covered with the limbs and carcasses of forty valiant men, the rest all wounded, and weltering in or covered with their own blood ; her masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper-works rased, and all in effect levelled with the water ; incapable of any further management or motion but what the billows gave her." At this moment Grenville proposed to sink the vessel, and trust to the mercy of God, rather than fall into the hands of the Spaniards,—a resolution in which he was joined by the master-gunner and a part of the crew ; but the rest refused to consent, and persuaded their commander to surrender. Faint with loss of blood, and like his ship shattered by repeated wounds, this brave man soon after expired, with these remarkable words :—"Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, having ended my life like a true soldier, that has fought for his country, queen, religion, and honour."

To defend the memory of this officer, which had been unjustly aspersed, Sir Walter drew up his report of the action ; nor could the vindication of his kinsman's fame have fallen into better hands. In the conclusion he enlarges on the ambitious character and policy of the

Spaniards in a strain of impetuous declamation, which we quote as a specimen of the superiority of his prose to the writers of his time :—“For matter of religion, it would require a particular volume to set down how irreligiously they cover their greedy and ambitious practices with that veil of piety ; for, sure I am, there is no kingdom or commonwealth in all Europe but, if reformed, they invade it for religion sake : if it be, as they term, Catholic, they pretend title ; as if the kings of Castile were the natural heirs of all the world : and so, between both, no kingdom is unsought. Where they dare not with their own forces invade, they basely entertain the traitors and vagabonds of all nations ; seeking by those and their renegade Jesuits to win parts ; and have by that means ruined many noble houses and others in this land, and have extinguished both their lives and families. What good, honour, or fortune, ever man yet by them achieved, is yet unheard of, or unwritten. And if our English Papists do but look into Portugal, against which they have no pretence of religion ; how the nobility are put to death, imprisoned ; their rich men made a prey, and all sorts of people captived ; they shall find that the obedience even of the Turk is easy, and a liberty, in respect of the slavery and tyranny of Spain. What have they done in Sicily, Naples, Milan, and the Low Countries ? Who hath there been spared for religion at all ? * * * Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of ravenous strangers ; and especially in those Spaniards, who more greedily thirst after English blood, than after the lives of any other people in Europe, for the many overthrows and dishonours they have received at our hands, whose weakness we have discovered to the world, and whose forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by sea and land, we have, even with handfuls of men and ships, overthrown and dishonoured ? * * To conclude : it hath ever to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her majesty, to break the purposes of malicious enemies, of forsworn traitors, and of unjust practices and invasions. She hath

ever been honoured of the worthiest kings; served by faithful subjects; and shall, by the favour of God, resist, repel, and confound all whatsoever attempts against her sacred person or kingdom. In the mean time, let the Spaniards and traitors vaunt of their success; and we, her true and obedient vassals, guided by the shining light of her virtues, shall always love her, serve her, and obey her to the end of our lives.”*

Such a spirited detection of the treacherous policy of Elizabeth's great enemy, with the attachment to her person and government which it displays, was highly acceptable to the queen, and disposed her to lend a favourable ear to a proposal of Raleigh for an expedition against Panama, combined with a second scheme for intercepting the Plate-fleet. In this enterprise he imprudently invested his whole private fortune, and engaged many of his friends; whilst his royal mistress, guided by her own judgment and the counsels of Burleigh, assisted them sparingly. The ships of the gentlemen adventurers were thirteen, well manned and provisioned; those of the crown, only two men of war,—the *Garland* and the *Foresight*. Raleigh was appointed admiral, and Sir John Burgh vice-admiral. But, though they sailed in February, they were long detained by contrary winds, as well as by the rigid and cautious economy of the sovereign. Nothing indeed can be more remarkable than the popularity of this princess, and the ardour with which she was served by men whom she treated with undue suspicion and severity. This is evident from Raleigh's letter to Sir Robert Cecil, in which the queen is exhibited insisting on as hard a bargain as possible with a subject who was venturing life and fortune in her service:—

“ SIR,—I received your letters this present day at Chatham, concerning the wages of the mariners and others. For mine own part, I am very willing to enter

* Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of the Azores, 4to, 1591.

bond, as you persuaded me, so as the privy seal be first sent for my enjoying the third. But, I pray, consider that I have laid all that I am worth, and must do, ere I depart on this voyage. If it fall not out well, I can but lose all ; and if nothing be remaining, wherewith should I pay the wages ? Besides, her majesty told me herself that she was contented to pay her part, and my lord-admiral his, and I should but discharge for mine own ships. And further, I have promised her majesty, that if I can persuade the companies to follow Sir Martin Frobisher, I will, without fail, return and bring them out into the sea but some fifty or threescore leagues, for which purpose my lord-admiral hath lent me the *Disdain* ; which to do, her majesty many times, with great grace, bade me remember, and sent me the same message by Will. Killigrew, which, God willing, if I can persuade the companies, I mean to perform, though I dare not be acknownd thereof to any creature. But, sir, for me then to be bound for so great a sum upon the hope of another man's fortune, I will be loath ; and, besides, if I were able, I see no privy seal for my thirds. I mean not to come away, as they say I will, for fear of a marriage, and I know not what. If any such thing were, I would have imparted it unto yourself before any man living ; and therefore, I pray, believe it not, and I beseech you to suppress what you can any such malicious report. For, I protest before God, there is none on the face of the earth that I would be fastened unto.—And so in haste I take my leave of your honour. From Chatham, the 10th of March.”*

The report, to which allusion is made in this letter, of his having come away for fear of a marriage, arose out of an intrigue he had carried on with Elizabeth Throgmorton, one of the queen's maids of honour,—a lady of great beauty and accomplishments, to whom he

* Raleigh's Miscellaneous Works, vol. viii. p. 658.

was soon after united.* On discovering the story, the queen was highly incensed both at the frailty of her female attendant and the temerity of her favourite Raleigh, in presuming to fall in love and marry without her consent. It was one of the foibles of this great princess to insist that the whole admiration of her courtiers should be concentrated upon herself; and if, in this royal monopoly of gallantry, any lady of her court, or officer of her household, ventured to interfere, the certain consequence was her severest displeasure. The anecdote of her striking the beautiful Mrs Bridges, because Essex had shown her some attention, is well known;† and it is evident that Raleigh had already felt the malice of his enemies in turning this story of the fair Throgmorton to his prejudice. In the mean time he sailed; but had scarcely reached the open sea, when Sir Martin Frobisher overtook him with orders for his return. These, however, he chose to overlook, until he became certain, by speaking a vessel from the Azores, that there was no chance of success; as Philip, aware of the expedition, had countermanded the departure of the fleet. He then put about his ship, having first stationed Sir John Burgh with one squadron at those islands; whilst Sir Martin Frobisher with the other was directed to cruise near the South Cape and watch the Spanish coast.

His arrangements were crowned with success; for whilst the latter kept the Spaniards at home, dreading a descent, the Indian carracks were allowed to fall into the hands of Burgh. One of these, the *Madre de Dios*, 1600 tons, was the largest prize at that time ever brought to England, and valued by Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins, the principal adventurers in the expedition, at £500,000.‡ The sailors, soldiers, and officers, however,

* The letter may have been written after a private marriage had taken place.

† Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 38.

‡ Amongst the Hatfield MSS. are some papers, showing the wealth of this prize.

having embezzled the richest part of the cargo, consisting of jewels, she ultimately fell far short of this estimate. By this time the royal anger on account of the amour with Miss Throgmorton had risen to a high pitch ; and the moment Sir Walter set his foot ashore, he and his mistress were committed to the Tower. Not content with this, Elizabeth claimed the largest share of the prize, on the ground that one of her ships was present at the capture ; and appeared so determined upon severe measures, that the enemies of the prisoner thought they might safely treat him with the insolence so soon assumed by the minions of a court towards a fallen favourite.

Raleigh, however, knew the queen's weakness. He had always addressed her not only as his sovereign, but as the mistress of his heart, the beautiful arbitress of his affections ; and a scene which was acted in his prison gives us a graphic though somewhat degrading account of a courtier's stratagem to obtain his release. It is described in the following letter of Sir Arthur Gorges to Sir Robert Cecil :—

“ HONOURABLE SIR,—I cannot choose but advertise you of a strange *tragedy* that this day had like to have fallen out between the captain of the guard, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the lieutenant of the ordnance, if I had not by great chance come at the very instant to have turned it into a *comedy*. For upon the report of her majesty's being at Sir George Carey's, Sir Walter Raleigh having gazed and sighed a long time at his study-window, from whence he might discern the barges and boats about the Blackfriars' Stairs, suddenly he brake out into a great distemper, and sware that his enemies had on purpose brought her majesty thither to break his gall in sunder with Tantalus' torment, that when she went away, he might gaze his death before his eyes ; with many such like conceits. And as a man transported with passion, he sware to Sir George Carew, that he would disguise himself, and get into a pair of oars, to ease his mind but with a sight of the queen, or else he protested his heart

would break. But the trusty jailor would none of that, for displeasing the higher powers as he said, which he more respected than the feeding of his humour; and so flatly refused to permit him. But, in conclusion, upon this dispute, they fell flat out to choleric outrageous words, with straining and struggling at the doors, that all lameness was forgotten, and in the fury of the conflict, the jailor he had his new periwig torn off his crown, and yet here the battle ended not, for at last they had gotten out their daggers, which, when I saw, I played the stickler between them, and so purchased such a rap on the knuckles that I wished both their pates broken; and so with much ado they stayed their brawl to see my bloody fingers. At the first I was ready to break with laughing to see them two scramble and brawl like madmen, until I saw the iron walking, and then I did my best to appease the fury. As yet I cannot reconcile them by any persuasions, for Sir Walter swears, that he shall hate him for so restraining him from the sight of his mistress, while he lives; for that he knows not, as he said, whether ever he shall see her again, when she has gone the progress. And Sir George, on his side, swears, that he had rather he should lose his longing, than that he would draw on him her majesty's displeasure by such liberty. Thus they continue in malice and snarling, but I am sure all the smart lighted on me. I cannot tell whether I should more allow of the passionate lover, or the trusty jailor. But if yourself had seen it as I did, you would have been as heartily merry and sorry as ever you were in all your life for so short a time. I pray you pardon my hasty-written narration, which I acquaint you with, hoping you will be the peace-maker. But, good sir, let nobody know thereof, for I fear Sir Walter Raleigh will shortly grow to be Orlando Furioso, if the bright Angelica persevere against him a little longer.—Your honour's," &c. To this amusing letter Gorges added this postscript: "If you let the queen's majesty know hereof, as you think good be it; but otherwise, good sir, keep it secret for their

credits: for they know not of my discourse, which I could wish her majesty knew."

These paroxysms of despairing love—these torments of Tantalus and extravagancies of Orlando, shut out from the sight of his charming but inexorable Angelica—were intended by Raleigh to be reported to the queen; and soon after he addressed from the Tower the following extraordinary epistle to Cecil:—

"SIR,—I pray be a mean to her majesty for the signing of the bills for the guards' coats, which are to be made now for the progress, and which the clerk of the check hath importuned me to write for. My heart was never broken, 'till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison, all alone. While she was yet near at hand that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less, but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph, sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all. O glory, that only shineth in misfortune! what is become of thine assurance? All wounds have scars but that of fantasy; all affections their relenting but that of womankind. Who is the judge of friendship but adversity, or when is grace witnessed but in offences? There were no divinity but by reason of compassion, for revenges are brutish and mortal. All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, can they not weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hidden in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *Spes et fortuna, valet!*—she is gone in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one

thought of mercy, nor any respect of that that was. Do with me now, therefore, what you list. I am more weary of life than they are desirous I should perish ; which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born.—Yours not worthy any name or title.—W. R.”

This elegant but Quixotic piece of extravagance had the desired effect. She who was ridiculously described as uniting in her own matchless person the horsemanship of Alexander, the chastity of Diana, the graceful motion of the goddess of beauty, and the bloom of a tender nymph, with her golden tresses wantoning in the amorous wind, was now treading on the borders of sixty ; yet the cup of flattery was neither too full nor too luscious for the palate of the queen, and the impassioned grief of Raleigh was rewarded by his enlargement. But Elizabeth was often as chary of her mercy as of her money. Though no longer a prisoner, Sir Walter was for some time treated as a state criminal, and attended by a keeper. A letter of the times describes him as heart-broken and pensive ; and when congratulated on his liberty, he would reply, “ I am still the Queen of England’s poor captive.”* Yet notwithstanding this partial eclipse of his fortunes, he was returned to parliament, and made himself conspicuous as a speaker in the session which terminated in April 1593.

* See Mrs Thomson’s valuable Appendix to her *Life of Raleigh*, letter C.

CHAPTER III.

Discovery of Guiana by Raleigh.

Raleigh chosen a Member of the Parliament—Importance of the Period—Philip resolves to make a second Attempt for the Destruction of England—Speech of Lord Burleigh—Raleigh's Plans for the Defence of England—He obtains a Grant of Sherborne in Dorsetshire—Becomes a Planter and Horticulturist—His Project for the Discovery and Conquest of Guiana—Resolves to conduct the Enterprize in Person—Fits out a Fleet—Sails from Plymouth in 1595—Arrives at Trinidad—Expedition up the Orinoco—Description of the People and the Country—They enter the Plains of Saima—Penetrate to the Province of Aromaia—Forced to return—Arrive at Wincapora—Return to Trinidad—Description of the Country—Ungenerously treated—Raleigh's Dedication of his Discovery of Guiana to the Lord-admiral Howard and Secretary Cecil—Second Voyage under Captain Keymis—Researches into the Country, and Return to England—He finds Raleigh absent on the Cadiz Expedition—Account of this Enterprize—Return of the Fleet—Encomiums on the Ability of Raleigh—The Queen retains her Resentment—Essex's Displeasure at the Preferment of Sir Robert Cecil—Character of Elizabeth—Character of Cecil—Raleigh sends Captain Berrie in a Ship of his own to Guiana—His Return to England.

THE period at which Raleigh became a member of the House of Commons was remarkable ; and the debates involved subjects of deep interest and importance. Elizabeth's great enemy was Spain ; and the efforts of this power against England, the bulwark of the Protestant faith, were unremitting. Enraged but not subdued by the destruction of his Armada, Philip adopted what

he considered a more certain mode of accomplishing the ruin of his enemy. He proposed to attack her on every quarter where she was most vulnerable,—on the side of France, Holland, Ireland, and Scotland; and aware, from experience, that his ships were too unwieldy for service in the Narrow Seas, he constructed vessels similar to those used in the Channel. To quote the language of Sir John Puckering in his address on the opening of parliament: “The high and mighty ships that then [in the year 1588] he prepared and sent for that purpose [invasion], because he found them not fit for our seas and such an attempt, he is building ships of a less bulk, after another fashion; some like French ships, some like the shipping of England, and many hath he gotten out of the Low Countries.” These words of warning were enforced by the venerable Burleigh, whose speech in this parliament has been preserved by Strype. He entreated the Commons to suffer an old man weighed down with years, and decayed in his spirits with sickness, to declare some part of the dangers then imminent upon the kingdom; and after a masterly sketch of the condition of the country under the alarm of invasion in 1588, he remarked that the case was now greatly altered: “The King of Spain,” said he, “maketh these his mighty wars by means only of his Indies; not purposely to burn a town in France or England, but to conquer all France, England, and Ireland. And for proof hereof: first, for France,—he hath invaded Brittany, taken the port, builded his fortresses, carried in his army, waged a navy in Brittany, received into wages a great number of his subjects, as rebels to France. And there he keepeth a navy armed to impede all trade from England to Gascony and Guyenne. * * * Besides this, his possessing a great part of Brittany towards Spain, he hath at his commandment all the best ports of Brittany towards England, so as now he is become as a frontier enemy to all the west of England. And, by his commandment, and his waged troops in Newhaven, he hath enlarged his frontiers now against all the south parts of England, as

Sussex, Hampshire, Isle of Wight." Lord Burleigh farther pointed out the iniquitous policy of Spain in attacking France both by invasion and intrigue,—the warm co-operation of the Pope,—and, lastly, Philip's success in corrupting the Hollanders, and in securing a party amongst the Scottish nobility, who meditated nothing less than a war with England.

A large subsidy was then proposed in the Commons ; and some members being of opinion, that its purpose to maintain the contest against Spain ought to be publicly stated, Raleigh took occasion strongly to recommend such a course. "He knew many persons," he said, "that held it not lawful in conscience, as the time is, to take from the Spaniards : and he knew, that if it might be lawful and open war, there would be more voluntary hands to fight against the Spaniard, than the queen should stand in need of to send to sea." As for the subsidy, he declared he would vote for it not only to please the queen, to whom he was infinitely bound above his deserts, but from the imminent necessity of the case, the bitter enmity of Philip being evident by his complicated preparations against England. He directed the attention of the house to the strength and warlike resources of Spain. "In Denmark, the king being young, he had corrupted the council and nobility, so as he was very like to speed himself of shipping from thence. In the marine towns of the Low Countries and in Norway he had laid in great store of shipping. In France he had the parliamentary towns at his command. In Brittany he had all the best havens. And in Scotland he had so corrupted the nobility, that he had promised them forces to re-establish Papistry. * * In his own country there is all possible repairing, and he is coming with sixty galleys, besides other shipping, with purpose to annoy us. * * At his coming he fully determineth to get Plymouth ; * * and Plymouth is a place of most danger, for no ordnance can be carried thither to remove him ; the passages will not give leave." Raleigh concluded this speech by pointing out the best method of warding off

these dangers. “ Now the way to defeat him is this : to send a royal army to supplant him in Brittany, and to possess ourselves there ; and to send a strong navy to sea, and to lie with it upon the Cape,* and such places as his ships bring his riches to, that they may set upon all that come. This we are able to do, and undoubtedly with fortunate success, if we undertake it. I see no reason that the suspicion of discontentment should cross the provision for the present danger. The time is now more hazardous than it was in eighty-eight ; for then the Spaniard which came from Spain had to pass dangerous seas, and if he failed there was no place of retreat ; but now he hath in Brittany great store of shipping, a landing-place in Scotland, and men and horses there as good as we have in our own country.”†

The high prerogative of the queen, and the slavish humility of some members, were strikingly exemplified in this parliament. The famous Coke was chosen speaker, and his address to her majesty contains the following passage :—“ This nomination is, only as yet, a nomination and no election until your majesty giveth allowance and approbation. For, as in the heavens, a star is but *opacum corpus* until it have received light from the sun ; so stand I *corpus opacum*, a mute body, until your highness’ bright shining wisdom hath looked upon me, and allowed me. * * * But how unable I am to do this office, my present speech doth tell, that, of a number in this house, I am most unfit. For amongst them are many grave, many learned, many deep wise men, and those of ripe judgments. But I am untimely fruit, not yet ripe ; but a bud scarcely blossomed ; so, as I fear me, your majesty will say, *neglectâ fruge, eliguntur folia*,—amongst so many fair fruit ye have plucked a shaking leaf.” Elizabeth assuring him that his *corpus opacum* should be illuminated by her princely virtue and wisdom, Coke made the usual demands of liberty of speech, freedom from arrest, and free access to the royal person ; and

* He means the Cape de Verde.

† Parliamentary History vol. iv. pp. 343, 359, 380, 385.

some idea may be formed, from the lord-keeper's answer, of the extent to which this princess carried the regal power: "To your three demands, the queen answereth: liberty of speech is granted you; but how far this is to be thought on, there be two things of most necessity, and those two do most harm, which are wit and speech. * * Privilege of speech is granted; but you must know what privilege you have. Not to speak every one what he listeth, or what cometh into his brain to utter that,—but your privilege is *Aye or no*. Wherefore, Mr Speaker, her majesty's pleasure is, that if you perceive any idle heads, which will not stick to hazard their own estates; which will meddle with reforming the church, and transforming the commonwealth; and do exhibit any bills to such purpose, that you receive them not, until they be viewed and considered by those, who it is fitter should consider of such things, and can better judge of them."*

A complaint was made that certain Dutch manufacturers, settling in London, had undersold the queen's liege subjects, and it was proposed to bring in a bill forbidding the retail of foreign wares by aliens. Raleigh's speech on this subject evinced his intimate knowledge of the trade of the country. It had been argued that charity, honour, and good policy, forbade these artisans to be expelled. "In my opinion," said he, "it is no matter of charity to relieve them. For first, such as fly hither have forsaken their own king. And religion is no pretext for them; for we have no Dutchmen here but such as come from those provinces where the gospel is preached, yet here they live disliking our church. For honour; it is honour to use strangers as we be used among strangers; and it is a lightness in a commonwealth, yea, a baseness in a nation, to give a liberty to another nation which we cannot receive again. In Antwerp, where our intercourse was most, we were never suffered to have a tailor or shoemaker to dwell there. Nay, at

* Parliamentary History, vol. iv. pp. 345, 346, 349.

Milan, where there are three hundred pound Englishmen, they cannot have so much as a barber among them. And for profit; they are all of the house of Almoigne, who pay nothing, yea, eat out our profits and supplant our nation. * * The nature of the Dutchman is to fly to no man but for his profit; and they will obey no man long,—now under Spain, now under Mountfort, now under the Prince of Orange; but under no governor long. The Dutchman by his policy hath gotten trading with all the world into his hands; yea, he is now entering into the trade of Scarborough fishing, and the fishing of the Newfoundlands, which is the stay of the west countries. They are the people that maintain the King of Spain in his greatness; were it not for them he were never able to make out such armies and navies by sea. It cost her majesty £16,000 a-year to maintain these countries, and yet for all this they arm her enemies against her. Therefore I see no reason that such respect should be given to them; and, to conclude, in the whole, no matter of honour, no matter of charity, no profit in relieving them.”*

That Raleigh's efforts in parliament procured his partial restoration to the royal favour is evident, from his obtaining at this time a grant of the manor of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, which he embellished magnificently. These improvements when still fresh were seen by Coker, author of the Survey of that county. The place was beautified, he declares, “with orchards, gardens, and groves of much variety and great delight; so that, whether you consider the pleasantness of the seat, the goodness of the soil, or the other delicacies belonging to it, Sherborne rests unparalleled by any in these parts.”† Sir Walter was a rural improver and horticulturist; and a tradition is mentioned by Fuller, that at Beddington, near Croydon in Surrey, the first orange-trees that ever grew in England were planted by him; for which, says this writer, “he deserves no less commendation than

* D'Ewes' Journal, pp. 508, 509.

† Coker's Survey of Dorsetshire, p. 124. Oldys's Life, p. 175.

Lucullus met with for bringing cherry and filberd trees out of Pontus into Italy.”* Carew, the proprietor of Beddington and kinsman of Raleigh, was himself addicted to experiments in horticulture ; and on occasion of a visit from the queen gave an example of his skilfulness in such matters, much thought of in those days, although in our own it would be lightly regarded. After a splendid entertainment he led her majesty to a cherry-tree in his garden, which had on it fruit in their prime above a month after all cherries had taken their farewell of England. This retardation had been performed by straining a canvass cover over the tree, and wetting it as the weather required ; so by obstructing the sunbeams they grew both great, and were very long before they gained their perfect cherry colour, and when he was assured of the time her majesty would come he removed the tent, and a few sunny days brought them to their maturity.†

Being still interdicted from court, Raleigh employed himself in drawing up a paper upon “the dangers which might grow by a Spanish faction in Scotland,”—a subject which had lately occupied the attention of the government. This he communicated to the queen ; but from the following letter, addressed by him to his sovereign, little notice appears to have been taken of his labours :—

“ I presumed to present your majesty with a paper, containing the dangers which might grow by the Spanish faction in Scotland : How it pleased your majesty to accept thereof I know not. I have since heard, that divers ill-disposed have a purpose to speak of succession. If the same be suppressed I am glad of it ; yet, fearing the worst, I set down some reasons to prove the motive

* In Fuller’s time the famous orange-trees were 100 years old ; and even when Oldys wrote, several trees of the ancient orangery were the stateliest and most perfect bearers in England. Raleigh was related through his wife to Sir Francis Carew ; and in Beddington House, in the time of Oldys, was preserved a splendid bed said to be his, with furniture of green silk, legs carved in the shape of dolphins and richly gilded.

† Plat’s Garden of Eden, p. 165.

merely vain, dangerous, and unnecessary. And because I durst not myself speak in any matter without warrant, I have sent your majesty these arguments, which may perchance put others in mind of somewhat not impertinent, and who, being graced by your majesty's favour, may, if need require, use them among others more worthy. Without glory I speak it, that I durst either by writing or speech satisfy the world in that point, and in every part of their foolish conceits, which, for shortness of time I could not so amply insert. This being upon one hour's warning, but one hour's work, I humbly beseech your majesty not to acquaint any withal, unless occasion be offered to use them. Your majesty may perchance speak hereof to those seeming my great friends; but I find poor effects of that or any other supposed amity; for your majesty having left me, I am left all alone in the world, and am sorry that ever I was at all. What I have done is out of zeal and love, and not by any encouragement; for I am only forgotten in all rights and in all affairs, and mine enemies have their wills and desires over me. There are many other things concerning your majesty's present service, which methinks are not as they ought remembered, and the times pass away unmeasured of which more profit might be taken. But I fear I have already presumed too much, which love stronger than reason hath encouraged; for my errors are eternal, and those of others mortal, and my labours thankless, I mean unacceptable, for that too belongeth not to vassals. If your majesty pardon it, it is more than too great a reward. And so most humbly embracing and admiring the memory of the celestial beauties (which with the people is denied me to view), I pray God your majesty may be eternal in joys and happiness. Your majesty's most humble slave.—W. R.*

About the same time, in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Raleigh evinces his intimate acquaintance with the con-

* Cayley's Life of Raleigh, vol. i. p. 134.

dition of Ireland,—then on the eve of a dangerous rebellion,—and exposes the ambitious policy of Spain. “Of this Irish combination,” he observes, “her majesty shall find it remembered to herself not long since; but the Trojan soothsayer cast his spear against the wooden horse, but was not believed. * * I had been able myself to have raised two or three bands of English well armed, till I was driven to relinquish and recall my people, of which the loss shall not be alone to me; howsoever I am tumbled down the hill by every practice. We are so busied and dandled in these French wars, which are endless, as we forget the defence next the heart. Her majesty hath good cause to remember that £1,000,000 hath been spent in Ireland not many years since. A better kingdom might have been purchased at a less price, and that same defended with as many pence if good order had been taken. * * The King of Spain seeketh not Ireland for Ireland; but, having raised up troops of beggars in our back, shall be able to enforce us to cast our eyes over our shoulders, while those before us strike us on the brains.” In the same letter Sir Walter entreats the good offices of Cecil, as his enemies would not even allow him to rest in his rural banishment. “I am myself here, at Sherborne, in my fortune’s fold. Wherever I be, and while I am, you shall command me. I think I shall need your further favour for the little park; for law and conscience is not sufficient in these days to uphold me. Every fool knoweth that hatred are the cinders of affection, and, therefore, to make me a sacrifice shall be thankworthy.”*

But, although thus complaining, it was not the nature of Raleigh to sink into indolent despondency: He was denied indeed all access to court; but in his seclusion at Sherborne, his inventive genius projected the conquest of Guiana,—a scheme which forms an interesting episode in his life. His youthful imagination had caught fire from the perusal of the romantic adventures of the Spa-

* Cayley’s Life of Raleigh, vol. i. pp. 135, 136.

niards in the New World ; and although a determined enemy to these rivals of his country, he eloquently extols their perseverance in the career of navigation. "I cannot forbear," says he, "to commend the patient virtue of the Spaniards. We seldom or never find that any nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries as that people have done in their Indian discoveries ; yet, persisting in their enterprises with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their kingdom so many goodly provinces as to bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwrecks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme poverty and want of all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers at one time or other hath encountered. Many years have passed over some of their heads in the search of not so many leagues ; yea, more than one or two have spent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in search of a golden kingdom, without getting further notice of it than what they had at their first setting forth."*

It was to this golden kingdom, the fabled *El Dorado* of the Spaniards, that the thoughts of Raleigh were now turned ; and before much is said against his credulity in giving heed to the extraordinary reports regarding it, we must consider the circumstances of the age, and the ardent and romantic temperament of the man. It is not to be forgotten, that the first information given by the Indians regarding Mexico and Peru, which Cortes believed and Pizarro unhesitatingly embraced, appeared to graver and cooler heads as only the idle dreams of barbarians and enthusiasts ; and when we look to the evidence contained in the Spanish historians, regarding the wonderful city of Manoa and the riches of this extensive country, it is easy to perceive, that the task of

* History of the World. Works, vol. vi. pp. 113, 114.

achieving its discovery and completing its conquest was one of those grand designs peculiarly suited to such a mind as that of Raleigh. Eager to engage in an enterprise which had baffled so many brave spirits, he in 1594 despatched Jacob Whiddon, an officer who had been long in his service, to explore the territory and decide upon the likelihood of success. His account made known the difficulty of approaching this kingdom, but in nowise shook the resolution of the projector. Sir Walter's description of it, derived partly from the hearsay testimony of Whiddon and partly from the reports of Spanish writers, was calculated to excite the highest hopes. In this new empire he was assured there was more abundance of gold, and greater and richer cities, than Peru could boast even in its most brilliant days; and he had been informed by such Spaniards as had seen Manoa, the imperial city, that for size and wealth it far exceeded any in the world. To corroborate this account, he referred to Lopez's General History of the Indies, where this writer, describing the court of Guanacapa, ancestor to the emperor of Guiana, has this highly coloured passage:—"All the vessels of his house, table, and kitchen, were of gold and silver, and the meanest of silver and copper, for strength and hardness of the metal. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold, which seemed giants; and the figures, in proportion and bigness, of all the beasts, birds, trees, and herbs which the earth bringeth forth; and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdom breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chests, and troughs of gold and silver, heaps of billets of gold, that seemed wood marked out to burn. Finally, there was nothing in his country whereof he had not the counterfeit in gold. Yea, and they say the Yncas had a garden of pleasure in an island near Puna, where they went to recreate themselves when they would take the air of the sea, which had all kind of garden-herbs, flowers, and trees of gold and silver,—an invention and magnificence till then never seen. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantity of silver and

gold unwrought in Cuzco, which was lost by the death of Guascar ; for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards took it and sent it to Spain.”*

The Spaniards had repeatedly attempted to find Guiana, but invariably failed, till a singular accident was said to have disclosed its situation : One John Martinez, master of the ordnance in the second army that endeavoured to penetrate to this rich country, was condemned to be executed at Morequito, a port on the river Orinoco. His life, however, was spared, and he was thrown alone, with nothing but his arms, into a canoe, and set adrift. The barge floated down the stream, and after some time was descried by the Guianians, who drew it ashore, astonished to see in it a being whose uncommon appearance made them believe him to be the inhabitant of another world. They received him with respect, and led him to Manoa, the residence of Inga, their emperor, who at once knew him to be a Christian, and lodged him in the palace. “He lived,” says Raleigh, in his *Discovery of Guiana*, “seven months in Manoa, but was not suffered to wander into the country ; and the Indians who at first conducted him to the capital took the precaution of blindfolding him, not removing the veil from his eyes till he was ready to enter the city. It was at noon that he passed the gates, and it took him all that day and the next, walking from sunrise to sunset, before he arrived at the palace of Inga, where he resided for seven months, till he had made himself master of the language of the country.”

Martinez expressing his wish to return, was dismissed ; a party of natives being sent to conduct him to the Orinoco, with a present from the emperor of as much gold as they could carry. On the borders of the kingdom, a nation at war with Guiana attacked and plundered them, leaving only two gourds filled with gold beads curiously wrought, but supposed by their assailants to contain provisions. He then proceeded down the Orinoco to Saint Juan de Puerto Rico, where

* *Discovery of Guiana*. Works vol. viii. pp. 398, 399.

he died. In his last illness, after receiving the sacrament, he related his travels to the priest, and presented the gold beads to the Church, requesting the usual prayers. Martinez first gave Manoa the far-travelled name of El Dorado, for reasons which are thus stated by Raleigh:—“Those Guianians are marvellous great drunkards; and at the times of their solemn feasts, when the emperor carouseth with his captains, tributaries, and governors, the manner is thus,—all those that pledge him are first stript naked, and their bodies anointed all over with a kind of white balsamum, by them called *curcai*. * * * When they are anointed all over, certain servants of the emperor having prepared gold made into fine powder, blow it through hollow canes upon their naked bodies, until they are all shining from the foot to the head; and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue in drunkenness sometimes six or seven days together. * * * Upon this sight, and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the city, the images of gold in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold which they use in the wars, he called the city El Dorado.”*

After the death of this adventurer, various Spanish captains attempted, but without success, to reach that golden region. It was necessary to penetrate forests and deserts, where it was difficult to find means of transport or subsistence for troops; and the fierce tribes on its borders bade defiance even to the disciplined valour of the Christians. The last who had engaged in the enterprise, and with whom the English came afterwards into contact, was Bereo, an officer of skill and courage, who had served in Italy, Naples, and the Low Countries, before he tried his fortune in Spain.

Satisfied with the practicability of discovering this unknown country, Raleigh fitted out a considerable fleet, of which he took the command, and sailed from Plymouth on the 6th of February 1595. The expedition

* Discovery of Guiana, p. 403. See Remarks in Appendix.

was favoured by Sir Robert Cecil, and the lord-high-admiral, who sent a ship of his own, named the *Lion's Whelp*. The squadron consisted of five vessels, with barges, wherries, and tenders, for coasting and inland navigation. Besides mariners, the officers, gentlemen adventurers, and soldiers, amounted to 100. Having reached Trinidad on the 22d March, the admiral surveyed the coast and opened a communication with the governor, Antonio de Bereo, above mentioned. In the preceding year this man had behaved with great cruelty and treachery to Captain Whiddon, when sent to explore the Orinoco; and it was soon discovered that he had adopted secret measures to put the navigators to the sword. But before his plot was ripe, Sir Walter attacked the settlement, rased the new city of San Joseph, liberated five Indian caciques whom he found bound in one chain, and imprisoned Bereo himself, who had treated these unhappy princes with horrible cruelty, basting their naked bodies with burning bacon to force a discovery of their treasures. Nothing could exceed the gratitude of those poor creatures on their delivery; and several years after, when some English adventurers in Guiana mentioned the circumstance, it was still remembered by the Indians to Raleigh's honour.

Sir Walter now assembled the chiefs, and informed them that he was the servant of a virgin queen, the great Cacique of the North, who had more leaders under her than there were trees in the island; and who hated the Castilians on account of their tyranny and oppression. He explained to them that, having rescued from Spanish servitude all the coast of the northern world, she had sent him to free them also, and to defend the country of Guiana from invasion. He then showed them her majesty's picture; and the simple natives almost worshipped it, calling Elizabetha, Cassipuna, Aquerewana,—Elizabeth the mighty princess, or greatest commander!*

So far all had succeeded to his wishes; but still the

* Discovery of Guiana. Works, vol. viii. p. 396.

enterprise was attended with much difficulty. He now learned that the distance of Guiana from the coast was greater by 600 miles than he at first imagined. This he concealed from his men, and resolved to proceed. He gives a striking picture of their hardships in the voyage. "Of this 600 miles," says he, "I passed 400, leaving my ships so far from me at anchor in the sea, which was more of desire to perform that discovery than of reason, especially having such poor and weak vessels to transport ourselves in ; for in the bottom of an old gallego which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ship-boat of the Lion's Whelp, we carried 100 persons and their victuals for a month in the same, being all driven to lie in the rain and weather in the open air, in the burning sun, and upon the hard boards ; and to dress our meat, and to carry all manner of furniture in them ; wherewith they were so pestered and unsavoury, that what with victuals, being most fish, with the wet clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the sun, I will undertake there was never any prison in England that could be found more unsavoury and loathsome, especially to myself, who had for many years before been dieted and cared for in a sort far differing."*

The Orinoco, at the mouth of which the ships were left at anchor, makes its way into the ocean by innumerable channels, and during the rainy season inundates the plains, sometimes to the distance of eighty or ninety miles on each side. The banks were covered with gloomy forests, in such luxuriance that they overarched the stream, shutting out the sky, and confining the view to the dim perspective formed by the interminable avenue along which the adventurers guided their frail barges. Through this labyrinth they pursued their course many days, till on the 22d May they entered a river which they named the Redcross, being the first Christians who had navigated it. Ferdinando, their Indian interpreter, hav-

* Discovery of Guiana. Works, vol. viii. p. 397.

ing gone ashore, was suddenly attacked by the natives, and hunted through the woods with deer-dogs, who ran him so close, that he was forced to throw himself into the river and swim back to his friends. This inhospitable people, of whom Raleigh has left a minute account, were the inhabitants of that "insular or broken world," formed by the branches of the Orinoco. "In the summer," says he, "they have houses on the ground; but in winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificial towns and villages; for between May and September the river of Orinoco riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty foot high above the level of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them, and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of any thing that is set or sown, and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of ought but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of palmetos for bread, and kill deer, fish, and porks, for the rest of their sustenance, having also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl. * * They were wont to make war upon all nations; but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die they use great lamentation, and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrefied and fallen from their bones, then they take up the carcass again, and hang it in the cacique's house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the south of Orinoco, are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drinks."*

Sir Walter continued his voyage, passing up the river

* Discovery of Guiana. Works, vol. viii. p. 424.

in the flood, and coming to anchor in the ebb ; but his galley ran aground, and was only got afloat with great labour ; after which he turned into the Amana, a branch of the Orinoco. Here the tide left him, and the crew being compelled to row against a rapid current, and under a scorching sun, began to sink with fatigue, and to languish from the failure of provisions. Their commander, however, displayed a cheerful countenance, willingly sharing in every privation, and holding out the hope of speedy success. As if to reward his confidence, a new reach of the river shifted the scene from desolate prospects to one of the most beautiful landscapes they had ever beheld. There opened upon them an amphitheatre of mountains, crowned with noble trees, while at their bottom verdant plains extended many miles, thickly interspersed with flowers of sweet odour. Unknown birds of rich colours sported in the groves, and fishes of various kinds were caught in great numbers with the net or rod. Nothing could exceed the amenity of the scene ; but their feelings of enjoyment were disturbed by multitudes of ravenous creatures, called by the natives lagartos, and apparently of the shark or crocodile genus, which abounded in the river, and in their sight devoured a negro servant of the admiral's, who had gone into the water to bathe. " On the banks," says Raleigh, " were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of that variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals. We relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country, and sometimes with fowl and fish ; we saw birds of all colours,—some carnation, some crimson, tawny, purple, green, watchet, and of all other sorts, both simple and mixed ; as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling-pieces ; without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case."*

* Discovery of Guiana. Works, vol. viii. p. 425.

Beginning to suffer from want of provisions, they captured two canoes laden with excellent bread, which were run ashore the moment the natives discerned the English. The Indians fled to the woods; but one of them was seized and compelled to act as a pilot. In chasing him through the underwood, Sir Walter found a refiner's basket, in which were quicksilver, saltpetre, and other materials for trying metals, which made him suspect the Spaniards had been there before him. In this idea he was confirmed by the pilot, who pointed out places where the white people had laboured for gold. Aware of the imprudence of delay, he pushed forward whilst the season permitted; and, on the fifteenth day after leaving the ships, discovered in the distance the mountains of Guiana. In the evening, a northerly gale springing up, they entered the Orinoco, running east and west from the sea to Quito in Peru. Their sensations on launching their feeble craft upon this vast body of waters, whose tributaries were equal to the greatest rivers of the Old World, may be easily imagined.

Anchoring near a sandy neck of land, where they found a rich feast of tortoise-eggs, they were visited by Toparimaca, a powerful prince of the country, who brought with him two other caciques, and engaged in a friendly intercourse with the strangers. The wife of one of these chiefs was a beautiful woman, with dark eyes, excellent proportions, and tresses reaching almost to the ground. Her manners were graceful; and, though modest, she sipped a cup of wine and conversed, taking great pride in her own comeliness.*

Pursuing their voyage westward, a spacious campaign country opened, where the banks assumed a deep red colour. Raleigh sent a party to examine the prospect from some neighbouring heights. They found it a level of immense extent; which their pilot stated to be the plains of Sayma, reaching to Cumana and Caraccas in the West Indies, and inhabited by four great nations.

* Discovery of Guiana. Works, vol. viii. p. 433.

Of these the first are the Sayma ; the next the Assawai ; the third and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro de Serpa, one of the adventurers who attempted to reach Guiana, was overthrown ; and the last are the Aroras, a race like negroes, but having smooth hair. This people, it was said, possessed the secret of concocting "the strongest, deadliest, and most speedy poison in the world," and the slightest scratch from their arrows produced a very fearful death.

The expedition now anchored at the port of Morequito in Aromaia, and despatched a messenger to Topiawari, the venerable sovereign of the district, who, although 110 years of age, was so stout that he walked twenty-eight miles to have an interview with the English. A tent was pitched for him ; and Sir Walter explained the object of his voyage. Topiawari listened with attention to the interpreter ; and in his reply gave so distinct and accurate an account of the country, that Raleigh " marvelled to find a man of such judgment and good discourse, without the help of learning and breeding."* From Morequito they sailed westward, with the desire of exploring the river Caroli, of which they had been told many marvels, as also that it led to some of the strongest nations on the frontiers. When yet at a great distance, the roar of its cataracts was distinctly heard. The stream was as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, and the current ran so violently that an eight-oared wherry hardly advanced a stonecast in an hour. Raleigh, therefore, abandoned the idea of reaching the Cassipagalos, whose territories were forty miles distant ; and encamping upon the banks of the Caroli, opened an intercourse with the natives, who were the inveterate enemies of the Spaniards. While waiting the return of his messengers from the town of Capurepana, he visited the waterfalls, and examined the province of Canari, through which the river runs. He has given an animated picture of its remarkable scenery. "When

* Discovery of Guiana. Works, vol. viii. p. 440.

we ascended," says he, "to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli, and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts above twenty miles off; and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church-tower, which fell with that fury that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain, and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For mine own part I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman; but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley. * * I never," he continues, "saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects: hills so raised here and there over the valleys; the river winding into divers branches; the plains adjoining, without bush or stubble, all fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, easy to march on either for horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path; the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes; cranes and herons, of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side; the air fresh, with a gentle easterly wind; and every stone that we stopped to take up promising either gold or silver by his complexion."*

Beyond this river they met some caciques, who seemed determined to work on their credulity; affirming that in the adjacent parts there dwelt a people called Ewai-panoma, whose heads did not appear above their shoulders, in which their eyes were seated, whilst their mouth was placed in the breast. They were described as the most mighty men of all the land, having bows, arrows, and clubs, thrice as big as any of Guiana. This extravagant idea may possibly have arisen, as in the case of the Samoieds,† from their costume.

* Discovery of Guiana. Works, vol. viii. p. 442.

† The garments of these Muscovite savages are made open

They were now 400 miles distant from their ships, their clothes were almost worn off their bodies, and they were warned by unequivocal indications of the approach of winter, which here consists not so much in any decided change from heat to cold, as in heavy rains and inundations, with frequent hurricanes, thunder, and lightning. Soon after the Orinoco rose with a sudden and awful swell, which dismayed the soldiers; the rain descended in torrents; and every day they were drenched to the skin; so that it was judged absolutely necessary to return. Sailing with the stream, their progress was as rapid as the ascent had been tedious; even against the wind they made little less than 100 miles a-day. At Morequito they were visited a second time by Topiawari, who brought a number of men loaded with presents. At this interview Raleigh collected much valuable intelligence relative to the best method of obtaining the co-operation of the bordering nations, and of conquering Guiana. He inquired minutely into the geography of the neighbouring provinces, the habits of the people, their arts, and mode of working gold, their dispositions towards the Spaniards, their friendships or enmities with each other. Before his departure the venerable cacique, besides promising to become the servant of the queen, delivered his son Cayworaco to the admiral, who brought him to England, and christened him Gualtero. In return, an English sailor named Sparrow, and a boy of the admiral's household, were left with the Indian king, to be taught the language of the country.

Resuming their voyage, they entered a branch of the Orinoco called Wincapora, near which there was said to be a mountain of crystal. Owing to the inclemency of the season they were unable to penetrate so far; but saw it in the distance, exceedingly high, and glittering like a

only at the neck, and when the cold is extreme they put their *cosaques* over their heads, the sleeves hanging down, and their faces not being visible except at the cleft which is at the neck; whence some credulous writers have said these northern people are without heads, and have their faces in their breasts.

marble church-tower. "There falleth over it," in the words of the Discovery of Guiana, "a mighty river, which toucheth no part of the side of the mountain, but rusheth over the top of it, and falleth to the ground with a terrible noise and clamour, as if a thousand great bells were knocked one against another." Upon this river is situated a town of the same name, where they were received by Timitwara, the chief of the place, with much kindness. His subjects, however, were not in a state to second his hospitable endeavours; "for it happened," says Raleigh, "to be one of their feast-days, and we found them all as drunk as beggars, the pots walking from one to another without rest: we, that were weary and hot with marching, were glad of the plenty." Their delicate "wine of pinas" proved very strong and heady; and without exposing his men to the temptation of a second Indian carouse, the commander pressed forward, finding it a difficult task, amid torrents of rain and storms of thunder and lightning, to regain their galley. On embarking, the water had risen, and the strength of the current threatened to dash their frail barge to pieces.

The main stream of the Orinoco now raged with a fury which "made their hearts cold to behold it;" but, striking into a smaller branch, they at last reached the sea. A dreadful storm coming on, their galley had much difficulty to live, and was so leaky that the admiral thought it better to remove to the barge. "After," to use his own words, "it had cleared up, they committed themselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the sea;" and so, being all very melancholy, one faintly cheering another to show courage, it pleased God that next day they descried Trinidad, and soon after reached the port of Curiapan, where to their great joy and gratitude they found their ships at anchor.

Raleigh, in his interesting history of this discovery, which it appears to me has been treated by later writers with no little injustice,* enumerates the various nations,

* See Remarks in Appendix at the end of the volume.

describes their customs, and afterwards, in some passages of great vigour and beauty, though tinged with credulity, details the advantages of a conquest of the country: "I will enter no further," says he, "into discourse of their manners, laws, and customs; and because I have not myself seen the cities of Inga I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard, although it be very likely that the Emperor Inga hath built and erected as magnificent palaces in Guiana as his ancestors did in Peru, which were, for their riches and rareness, most marvellous, and exceeding all in Europe. * * For the rest which myself have seen, I will promise these things that follow and know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many arms and branches, leading to several countries and provinces, above 2000 miles east and west, and 800 miles south and north, and of these, the most either rich in gold or in other merchandises. * * There is no country which yieldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants either for those common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, than Guiana doth; it hath so many plains, clear rivers, abundance of pheasants, partridges, quails, rails, cranes, herons, and all other fowl, deer of all sorts, porkers, hares, lions, tigers, leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts either for chase or food. * * To conclude, Guiana is a country as yet untouched by the natives of the Old World: never sacked, turned, or wrought; the face of the earth hath not been torn, nor the virtue and salt of the soil spent by manurance; the graves have not been opened for gold; the mines not broken with sledges, nor their images pulled down out of their temples. It hath never been entered by any army of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any Christian prince; it is besides so defensible, that if two forts be built in one of the provinces which I have seen, the flood setteth in so near the bank where the channel also lieth, that no ship can pass up but within a pike's length of the artillery, first of the one, and afterwards of

the other : which two forts will be a sufficient guard both to the empire of Inga, and to a hundred other several kingdoms lying within the said river, even to the city of Quito in Peru.”*

On his return Sir Walter found his enemies had availed themselves of his absence to influence the queen's mind against him ; and instead of being welcomed as a discoverer, his descriptions were received with coldness and suspicion. A contemporary letter, indeed, informs us that he lived about London very gallant, while great interest was made for his being again received at court. But Elizabeth for the present was inexorable ; and the dedication of the Discovery of Guiana to the lord-high-admiral and Sir Robert Cecil plainly alludes to his having fallen on evil days and evil tongues : “ The trial,” says he, “ that I had of both your loves, when I was left of all but of malice and revenge, makes me still presume that you will still be pleased to answer that out of knowledge, which others shall but object out of malice. In my more happy times, as I did especially honour you both, so I found that your loves sought me out in the darkest shadow of adversity, and that the same affection which accompanied my better fortune soared not away from me in my many miseries ; all which, though I cannot requite, yet I shall ever acknowledge. * * Of the little remaining fortune I had, I have wasted, in effect, all herein. I have undergone many constructions ; I have been accompanied with many sorrows—with labour, hunger, heat, sickness, and peril. * * From myself I have deserved no thanks, for I am returned a beggar and withered. But that I might have bettered my poor estate, it shall appear by the following discourse, if I had not only respected her majesty's future honour and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once lived to go journeys of piccory ; and it had sorted ill with the offices of honour which, by her majesty's grace, I hold this day in England, to run from cape to

* Discovery of Guiana. Works, vol. viii. pp. 462, 464.

cape, and place to place, for the pillage of ordinary prizes.”*

But although detraction was thus busy at the court, the muses espoused the cause of Raleigh. In an heroic poem, ascribed on good grounds to Chapman, the gifted translator of Homer, the enterprise is commemorated in no ignoble strains. The poet having declared the subject of his song to be riches with honour, and conquest without blood, describes Guiana bowing in submission to that sovereign princess, whose younger sister she is anxious to become :—

“ Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of gold,
Whose forehead knocks against the roof of stars,
Stands on her tiptoe at fair England looking,
Kissing her hand, bowing her mighty breast,
And every sign of all submission making,
To be her sister and the daughter both
Of our most sacred maid.”

He then apostrophizes Elizabeth in some spirited lines, alludes to the incredulity with which Raleigh’s reports were received, and introduces a picture of the prosperity of the British colonies cradled in this golden country, which is highly poetical, although it proved any thing but prophetic :—

“ And now a wind, as forward as their spirits,
Sets their glad feet on smooth Guiana’s breast ;
Where, as if each man were an Orpheus,
A world of savages fall tame before them ;
And there doth plenty crown their wealthy fields ;
And all our youth take Hymen’s lights in hand,
And fill each roof with honoured progeny.
There healthful recreations strew the meads,
And make their mansions dance with neighbourhood,
Which here were drown’d in churlish avarice.
And there do palaces and temples rise
Out of the earth and kiss th’ enamoured skies,
Where new Britannia humbly kneels to Heaven,
The world to her, and both at her blest feet
In whom the circles of all empire meet.”

The parsimony of the queen and the malice of Sir Walter’s enemies proved too powerful on this occasion ; and instead of seeing his project embraced by his sove-

* Discovery of Guiana. Works, vol. viii. p. 379-381.

reign, and the promised country reduced and colonized, he found that he was defamed and distrusted, except by a few who appreciated his plans. Yet his spirit rose under his calamities. He determined, if not to prosecute the discovery, at least to keep up an intercourse with the natives; and accordingly, using the remains of his private fortune, and aided by Sir Robert Cecil and Howard, about six months after his return, he despatched the *Darling* and the *Discoverer*, under Captain Keymis, who had served in the first expedition.*

On reaching Guiana, this officer found his friends much dispersed, but eagerly inquiring for Sir Walter, and ready to join his armament. They were disappointed that a larger fleet had not been sent; but the object of Raleigh was to continue the correspondence and peaceful traffic with the Indians, not to engage in warlike adventure; and this Keymis ably accomplished. The Cacique of Carapana, indeed, afraid of the hostility of the Spaniards, avoided a personal interview; but others, loudly execrating their cruelties, compared their tyrannical conduct with the humanity and respect to individual rights exhibited by the English and their commander. He examined some parts of the country which had escaped attention on the former voyage—ascertained the strength of the nations which promised their assistance, and the best access to the interior; after which he collected some farther reports respecting the wealth which might be expected from the adventure, and sailing for England, arrived in the end of June 1596.

During his absence, his indefatigable employer had engaged in the celebrated enterprise against Spain, known by the name of the *Cadiz Expedition*, in which he held a principal command.

When Spain meditated the invasion in 1588, Raleigh had urged the practicability of burning the formidable fleet of Philip in his own harbour. These views were not then adopted; but after an interval of eight years

* Some original letters of Keymis are preserved amongst the MSS. at Hatfield.

the queen had become convinced of their soundness. The seizure of Calais by the Spaniards, the disordered condition of Ireland, the disaffection of a large party in Scotland,—all arising out of Spanish intrigue,—and the failure in the Portuguese expedition, had greatly strengthened the interest of that monarch, and rendered it necessary for the English ministry to make a vigorous effort against him. The plan, therefore, which had been rejected in 1588, was revived by Elizabeth in 1596, and its execution intrusted to her four best officers, Essex, the lord-high-admiral, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Lord Thomas Howard;—the veterans Drake and Hawkins being now no more.

One hundred and fifty vessels were equipped at Plymouth, seventeen of them first-rates, twenty-two ships of war furnished by the Dutch, and the rest being tenders and small craft. The English fleet contained about 14,000 men, including 1000 gentlemen volunteers; “for as yet,” says Oldys, “the English nobles and gentry had not learnt to live lazily and loosely at home, while their countrymen were fighting abroad for the safety and glory of the nation.” The number aboard the Dutch division is not certain; but it was calculated that there might be spared from it 10,000 men to land on the Spanish coast. Although the chief command was intrusted to the high-admiral and the Earl of Essex, yet the queen, dreading the collision between “an old head and a young one,” appointed them a council of five, to keep them “in due temper and harmony.” These were Lord Thomas Howard, Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir Conyers Clifford, and Sir George Carew; a control and division of authority resented by the proud spirit of Essex, but to which a sharp letter from his royal mistress compelled him to submit.

From the first every thing favoured the expedition. They had a rapid run to the Spanish coast; every vessel which could have carried intelligence to the enemy was intercepted; and the ships anchored in St Sebastian’s Bay on the 20th June, only half a league short of Cadiz,

when the Spaniards believed themselves in perfect security. The lord-admiral resolved that a descent should be made first by the land-army upon the town,—a measure which Essex, their commander, although he perceived its danger, did not choose, from some chivalrous punctilio, to oppose. He proceeded, accordingly, to embark his forces in the boats, the surf being so tremendous, that every moment they were in danger of swamping.

Whilst this was going on, Raleigh, who had been absent on some necessary duties, arrived in the bay; and perceiving the error of Howard, in not at once running his ships into the harbour and attacking the fleet, hastened on board to Essex, and conjured him to stop the embarkation, which would, if continued, utterly defeat the enterprise. His remonstrance was most acceptable to the earl, who threw the responsibility upon the admiral, and requested Sir Walter to interfere and induce him to recall the orders. This he immediately did, and Howard, becoming convinced of his mistake, consented to enter the harbour. With this news Raleigh returned to Essex, and calling out “Entramos! Entramos!” the young earl, for joy, cast his hat into the sea, and gave instant orders to weigh anchor,—a precipitancy which might again have ruined all. The day was far spent; time was necessary to remove the soldiers on board from the boats; no plan of attack had been agreed on; none knew who was to lead, or who was to be second. Sir Walter once more represented the danger of such intemperate haste, and by his advice the fleet again anchored. At night he wrote to the high-admiral, proposing that they should first run in and cannonade the enemy’s ships with their great ordnance; after which two flyboats should board each of the great Spanish galleons; for it was expected that the San Philip and the rest of the men-of-war would burn and not yield; in which case the queen’s ships might be much endangered. All this was agreed to; and, at his own request, he had the leading of the van, whilst Howard and Essex commanded the great body of the fleet.

The success with which this plan was executed reflects great credit on the gallantry of the assailants. With the first dawn of day, Raleigh in the Warspite weighed anchor, and taking the start of the rest bore in upon the enemy. He was supported by Sir George Carew in the *Mary Rose*, Sir Robert Southwell in the *Lion*, Sir Francis Vere in the *Rainbow*, Captain Cross in the *Swiftsure*, Sir Conyers and Alexander Clifford in the *Dreadnought*, and Captain Robert Dudley in the *Nonpareil*, besides some Londoners and flyboats adapted for boarding. The disposition of the Spaniards rendered the attack both difficult and hazardous. Under the walls of Cadiz seventeen galleys were so ranged as to flank the entrance. The harbour was commanded by Fort St Philip, and by the ordnance along the curtain upon the rampart towards the sea, besides other pieces of culverin which raked the channel. Although thus strongly guarded, the moment the *San Philip* perceived the hostile fleet, she crowded all sail, and was followed by the *San Matthew*, *San Thomas*, *San Andrew*, two great Portuguese galleons, three frigates, two argosies armed to the teeth, and forty other great ships bound for Mexico, on board which were the admiral and vice-admiral of New Spain. Of these who thus scoured away at the first wave of the English flag, four of the largest galleons, the *San Philip*, *Matthew*, *Andrew*, and *Thomas*, anchored again under the guns of the fort of Puntal, a strait of the harbour leading towards Puerto Real. On their right they placed the three frigates, at their back the two Portuguese galleons and argosies; the seventeen galleys were reserved to occupy the intervals by three and three as occasion might require. The admiral of New Spain with the body of the fleet was stationed behind them to defend the entrance, which was of that moderate breadth that their line stretched across like a bridge, having the fort just mentioned to guard it.

Such being the order of the enemy, Raleigh, leading the van, was first saluted by the garrison, next by the cannon on the curtain, and lastly, in good order, by the

seventeen galleys. To these, as, to use his own expression, he considered them but as "wasps" in comparison with the San Philip and the other galleons, he only replied by a flourish of trumpets, reserving his ordnance for higher game. He now directed his course against the great vessels in the deepest part of the river, drawing on the rest of the ships, which so battered the Spaniards that they soon began to ply their oars and take to flight. By this time Sir Walter had anchored beside the Philip and Andrew, and poured broadsides into them without intermission, trusting that the flyboats would speedily come up and enable him to board. The fight soon became very hot. Lord Thomas Howard, in the Lion, drew up on one side of the Warspite, and Carew, in the Mary Rose, on the other, whilst Sir Francis Vere pushed on towards the side of Puntal; and Essex, who was still at a distance, hearing the thunder of the ordnance, thrust up through the fleet and anchored next Raleigh on the left hand. In this way the action continued for three hours; the volleys of cannon and culverin coming as thick as in a skirmish of musqueteers. By this raking fire, Sir Walter's ship was so dreadfully shattered that, fearing she could not float much longer, he went aboard and assured Essex, that if the flyboats could not instantly be brought up he would board from the Warspite at all risks. The earl, with his accustomed gallantry, replied, that whatever Raleigh did, he would, on his honour, second. The other, throwing himself into his boat, rowed back to his ship with all expedition,—an action which seemed to be a signal to the fleet who should be the first to run in on the great galleons. The high-admiral, finding the river so choked up that he could not pass in the Ark, joined his brother, in the Nonpareil. Vere, thinking it hard to be so far behind, got ahead of the Warspite with the Rainbow; and he again, in this race of valour, was headed by Lord Thomas Howard. All this passed in the fifteen minutes during which Raleigh was absent. The moment he returned, finding that, instead of being first he was only third, he slipped his anchor, and pushing between Lord Thomas and Vere,

went ahead of both, and anchored within twenty yards of the San Philip, athwart the channel, so as to prevent any ship from again passing him. Vere, upon this, fastened a rope to the side of the Warspite, in order to draw himself up alongside ; but one of the crew cut it asunder, and the Rainbow fell back into its old place.

Having no hopes of the flyboats, and prevented by the wind from running close up and boarding the San Philip, Sir Walter laid out a warp "to shake hands with her ;" and Lord Thomas with other ships imitating his example, the Spanish galleons in the utmost haste slipped anchor and ran aground, "tumbling into the sea heaps of soldiers like coals out of a sack," some drowning, some choking in the mud, and others mortally wounded. In the midst of this tumult a negro fired the powder in the San Philip, which blew up with a tremendous noise, the main-mast shooting into the air like an arrow. The flames catching hold of the San Thomas at the same moment, she exploded and covered the sea with burning fragments. Raleigh, however, was too rapid in his movements to allow the San Matthew and San Andrew to follow their example ; he took them before they could run aground or be burnt by their crews. The picture he draws of the scene, in his relation of the Cadiz action, is striking : "The spectacle was very lamentable on their side ; for many drowned themselves, many, half-burnt, leaped into the water ; very many hanging by the ropes' ends, by the ships' sides, under the water even to the lips ; many swimming with grievous wounds, stricken under water, and put out of pain ; and withal so huge a fire, and such tearing of the ordnance in the great Philip and the rest, when the fire came to them, as, if any man had a desire to see hell itself, it was there most lively figured. Ourselves spared the lives of all after the victory ; but the Flemings, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter, till they were, by myself, and afterwards by the lord-admiral, beaten off."*

The action continued from ten in the morning till late

* Relation of the Cadiz Action. Raleigh's Works, vol. viii. p. 672.

in the afternoon ; by which time the bay was cleared and entirely resigned to the English. The victory was justly described by Sir William Monson, one of the officers engaged, as the most disgraceful overthrow ever given to the majesty of Spain, the battle being at his own home, in his port which he thought as safe as his chamber ; and it was particularly glorious to the English, when the great inequality of numbers was considered,—seven ships destroying the Spanish fleet, including six galleons, three frigates, seventeen galleys, and the Mexican squadron, in all fifty-five, backed by the fort of Puntal, and moored under their batteries.

After this success the army landed, and, led by the Earl of Essex, carried the town by a *coup de main*, although 5000 foot and 800 horse, including the cavaliers of Xeres, made an attempt at resistance. Raleigh, during the seafight, had been hurt in the leg by a splinter. But his anxiety would not suffer him to be absent from the army, and having been carried ashore he mounted his horse, and charging along with the rest entered the city. The pain of his shattered limb, however, became intolerable ; there was great danger of his being trodden down by the English soldiers, who abandoned themselves to pillage, and after an hour he returned to the fleet.

At this moment, although grievously incommoded and smarting under his wound, his great object was to capture the Mexican fleet, which had taken refuge in the roads of Puerto Real, where, had they been instantly followed, it would have been impossible for them to escape. With this view he sent repeated messages to obtain the admiral's consent. But owing to the confusion incident to the sacking of the town, and some jealousies between the seamen and the land-forces, Raleigh " could not obtain any answer to his desire." Before next morning the Duke of Medina Sidonia, apprehensive lest this inestimable prize should fall into the enemy's hand, ordered them to be burnt. " So as now," says he in his account of the action, " both galleons, frigates, argosies, and all other ships of war, together with the fleet of Nueva Espana, were all converted into ashes ; only the

San Matthew and the San Andrew were in our possession." Having destroyed the fortifications and city, the army re-embarked on the 5th of July; and Essex's design of continuing at sea to intercept the West Indian fleet having been overruled, the victorious squadron directed their course homeward. On their way they sacked the town of Faro in Portugal, from which they carried off the famous library of Osorius; and laden with bales of philosophy and literature, as well as with the rich plunder of Cadiz, they arrived at Plymouth on the 10th of August, from which Essex immediately posted to court.

There can be little doubt that this great victory is mainly to be attributed to Raleigh. It was at his earnest entreaty that the absurd design of first attacking with the land-forces was abandoned; it was he who drew up the plan of the action; and to him the command of the van was intrusted. Many officers, who were present and nowise favourably disposed to him, bore in their private letters the warmest testimony to his ability and gallantry; books were dedicated to him, in which the glory he had acquired was commemorated; portraits engraved or painted, in which the action was introduced as the most appropriate background; and all seemed anxious that the cloud under which his merit had been lately obscured should be dispelled by the returning favour of his royal mistress.

Yet, in spite of these testimonies, Elizabeth did not immediately recall him to court, or permit him to resume his offices. Aware of the influence of Essex, he had been careful to treat the favourite during the voyage with that courtesy to which his great bravery and talents entitled him; and those who knew the secret enmity between them ascribed this change to interested motives:—"Sir Walter's carriage," says Standen, who was present, "to my lord of Essex is with the cunningest respect and deepest humility that ever I saw or have trowed." But the same writer, after the action, confesses, that among many excellent qualities his behaviour to the earl deserved high praise.* To secure the favour of one

* Oldys, p. 254.

so powerful as his rival, provided it were done by no sacrifice of honour, was, to a man labouring under the displeasure of his sovereign, no improper object; and when engaged in such a service as the attack on the Spanish fleet, he must have been convinced it was their duty to forget private animosities. But Sir Walter's malignant star was still in the ascendant. Incapacitated by his wounds from sharing in the sack of Cadiz, the rich booty fell into the hands of others whom he taught to win the victory. Nor does it appear that he had gained the friendship of Essex, who, with all his nobleness of nature, perhaps felt hurt at the glory acquired by his inferior in command.

The favourite, indeed, had himself cause for dissatisfaction, and began to feel the insecurity of his giddy elevation. Before leaving court he had recommended his friend Sir Thomas Bodley for the vacant post of Secretary of State. On his return he found that Elizabeth had preferred Sir Robert Cecil, Burleigh's second son; and the indignation which he imprudently exhibited on this occasion seems to have been the first cause of that decline of his influence which began soon after to be apparent. He was too open, generous, and independent, for a professional courtier. He presumed upon his royal mistress's passion for him; and that she really felt as much love as could take possession of a heart on the borders of sixty-four is not to be doubted. But he forgot that the queen, however weak and capricious on some occasions, possessed a remarkable skill in selecting men fit for high offices, and that no considerations of personal attachment had ever been sufficient to blind her discernment. It is this faculty of discriminating true genius, and attaching to her service the greatest talents in England, which is the peculiar feature in Elizabeth's character. To deny, as has lately been done, that she was a woman of high and commanding powers, is a refinement of modern ingenuity,—an opinion begot apparently between prejudice and paradox, and contradicted by the whole history of her reign. That she had weaknesses, all will allow. She was vain; and, although of homely

features, desired to be thought beautiful ; she affected at sixty the romantic feelings, the sighs, loves, tears, and tastes, of a girl of sixteen ; she danced “ high and disposedly” before Secretary Melville ; and simpered and frowned, and permitted the gallant and handsome cavaliers of her court to feed her with flatteries, and to celebrate her celestial graces, when time had blanched her tresses with snow and shrivelled her ordinary countenance into unnumbered wrinkles. But when seated at her council-table these foibles were in an instant abandoned. In no single instance did she permit them to influence the conduct of her government, or to weaken the grasp of her masculine judgment. Where did she ever select a mere courtier, or an empty and gilded appendage of her processions, to execute a difficult service ? How firmly did she cling through her long reign to Burleigh ! How uninterrupted was her favour to the brave Sir Francis Drake,—to the veteran Vere, to Howard, and Gilbert, and Sidney, and Sussex, and, after a partial eclipse, to Raleigh ! When did she ever permit a fool to have a word to say when an important enterprise was in agitation ? When did she ever select a weak person for her favourite ? and how completely at this moment did she convince her beloved Essex, that to be her secretary of state something more was required than his favour, when he found that Sir Robert Cecil had been preferred to the man of his choice.

Cecil was the friend of Raleigh ; as much so at least as the marked difference of their characters permitted. Under the eye of his grave and judicious father he had been bred a courtier. His person, indeed, was little calculated to adorn a masque or a festival, for it was deformed ; but in this respect he only added another to the many examples of intellect being spurred on by this painful peculiarity to achieve distinction ; nor is it perhaps too refined or ingenious to trace to the same source the coldness of his heart, his sarcastic temper, and the caution, dissimulation, and passion for political intrigue, which formed the leading features of his character. Little else could be expected from the sickly and favourite

child of Burleigh, educated in the severe school of Walsingham. His talents for business were high, though not equal to his father's ; but his application was as intense, and he had carried the system of private agency and secret information at home and abroad to greater perfection than even the old treasurer himself. His zeal in the service of his royal mistress was neither enthusiastic nor disinterested, but it was constant and sincere ; he knew his own greatness to be involved in the success of his public measures, and appreciated that discernment by which the queen could detect, and the rigour with which she would punish, any disposition to prefer himself or his friends to the good of the state. Such a person was well qualified for the office of secretary, at a time when Elizabeth required the assistance, not only of the bravest hearts, but of the best heads among her subjects. Yet, however able as a statesman, Cecil was proportionably dangerous as a friend,—subtle and insinuating, he esteemed men principally as tools to advance his own interests, and was ready to cast them away, or even to break them to pieces, should they interfere with his policy, or cross the path of his ambition. Such was the person upon whom Essex, still in his palmy state of favour, did not scruple to let loose his resentment, and to whom Raleigh, having already experienced his patronage, attached himself with the earnestness of a man who, cut off from the good graces of his sovereign, caught at any prospect of a restoration. But both were deceived. The noble, open, and fearless earl fell at length into the toils of the little crafty politician whom he had despised ; and the other, after he had served Cecil's private purposes, and co-operated in the overthrow of his enemies, was first coldly thrown aside, and then all but destroyed by the hand which he had trusted.

About two months after his return from the Cadiz action, Sir Walter fitted out a ship, called after himself the *Wat*, for a third voyage to Guiana. The command was intrusted to Captain Leonard Berrie, who sailed from Weymouth in the end of December, and discovered the coast in the beginning of March. The crew came to

anchor in a bay at the mouth of the Wiapoucow, 4° north of the line. The falls in the river did not permit their pinnace to proceed far inland; and, regaining the coast, they visited Aramatto, where the natives supplied them liberally with provisions, and besought them to come and kill the Spaniards. Thence they passed to the Cooshipwinee, which flows through Amano, and reaching Marrac found the people "something pleasant, having drunk much that day," but withal humane, and anxious to furnish them with every thing required. In their passage up the river, being the first Christians seen in this province, they were received with much reverence, and treated with uniform kindness. They found the country rich, the climate temperate, and the natives of extraordinary stature, and carrying bows with golden handles. The remainder of the voyage was deficient in novelty; and, after a fruitless attempt to penetrate to the Lake Perima, upon which Manoa was supposed to be situated, Captain Berrie returned to Plymouth on the 28th of June.



CHAPTER IV.

*From Raleigh's Restoration to Favour to the Fall of
Essex.*

Raleigh effects a Reconciliation between Cecil and Essex, and is himself restored to Favour—Designs of Philip II.—Elizabeth's Preparations against him—The Island-voyage—Raleigh appointed Rear-admiral—He takes Fayal—Disputes with Essex—Their Reconciliation—Inexperience of Essex—A large Carrack destroyed by Raleigh—Philip's third Fleet intended for the Invasion of England is dispersed by a Storm—Essex returns to England—Elizabeth receives him with Reproaches—Decline of his Favour—Critical Circumstances of the Country—Cecil's Mission to France—Cecil and Lord Burleigh advise a Peace with Spain—Essex violently opposes it—Rivalry of Raleigh and Essex—Their Splendour—State of Ireland—Essex's Quarrel with the Queen—Plot of Cecil—Essex appointed to the Government of Ireland—His Inactivity—His Letters—The Queen's severe Answers—Essex's sudden Return to England—His Reception—Trial and Condemnation—Relative Position of Cecil and Raleigh—Contrast between their Characters—Superior Address of Cecil—His Correspondence with James, King of Scots—Raleigh retires for a short Season to Sherborne—His Employments—Mission to Boulogne—Elizabeth's Passion for tall and handsome Servants—Anecdote illustrative of this—Raleigh's magnificent Taste in Dress and Equipage—Queen's Progresses—Taste of the Times for solemn Masques and Pageants—Elizabeth's Passion for Hunting—Her Love of Display—Elizabeth's Reception of the Marshal Biron at Basing.

ON reaching England Berrie found Raleigh too much engrossed with very different matters to attend to schemes of discovery. His whole mind was occupied by two projects,—the first relating to another great naval expe-

dition against Spain ; the second, an affair perhaps more arduous although of a pacific nature, an attempt to effect a reconciliation between Essex and Cecil ; in which, to the surprise of all, he at length succeeded. He was induced to make an effort to bring these two powerful rivals together, from a conviction that till this were effected his own restoration to the queen's good graces was impossible. He possessed, indeed, the interest of the secretary ; but for this very reason the favourite opposed him ;—and he, though not so omnipotent as before, was still too strong for them. To make himself acceptable to this great man, who had hitherto treated him with jealousy and distrust, and to bring about a union between two minds which cherished a deep-rooted hostility to each other, was no easy task. But Raleigh brought to it an intimate knowledge of their characters ; and the courtiers saw with astonishment not only the progress of the reconciliation, but its consequence in the re-admission of its author to court. On the 4th March 1596-7, Roland Whyte writes to Sir Robert Sidney, —“ Sir Walter Raleigh hath been very often very private with the Earl of Essex, and is the mediator of a peace between him and Sir Robert Cecil, who likewise hath been private with him. He [Sir Walter Raleigh] alleges how much good may grow by it. The queen's continual unquietness will turn to contentments.”*

Mr Whyte writes, on the 9th April, 1597,—“ Sir Walter is daily in court ; and hope is had he shall be admitted to the execution of his office, as captain of the guard, before his going to sea. His friends you know are of greatest authority and power here ; and the Earl of Essex gives it no opposition, his mind being full, and only carried away with the business he hath in his head, of conquering and overcoming the enemy.”† The final reconciliation is thus described in a letter dated the 2d June, where we find Raleigh completely restored to favour, and once more officiating as captain of the guard

* Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 24.

† Ibid. p. 37.

to the sovereign :—“ Yesterday my lord of Essex rid to Chatham ; in his absence Sir Walter Raleigh was brought to the queen by Sir Robert Cecil, who used him very graciously, and gave him full authority to execute his place as captain of the guard, which immediately he undertook, and swore many men into the places void. In the evening he rid abroad with the queen, and had private conference with her ; and now he comes boldly to the privy-chamber as he was wont. Though this was done in the absence of the earl, yet is it known that it was done with his liking and furtherance. * * * Your lordship knows that Sir Walter Raleigh had the victualling of the land-forces : I hear it is very well done, and that he hath let the Earl of Essex have much for his private provision ; they are grown exceeding great, and often goes the earl to Sir Robert Cecil's house very private, where they meet.”*

This first difficulty being overcome, Raleigh had leisure to prepare for the expedition against Spain ; and the danger with which the country was once more threatened from that great power rendered it necessary to adopt decisive measures. Philip II., incensed by the severe loss sustained at Cadiz, concentrated his naval strength at Lisbon with the resolution of invading England ; but the elements once more arrayed themselves against him : in a few hours his boasted strength was laid prostrate, and thirty-six sail wrecked and dashed to pieces. The determined resolution of the king, however, was unsubdued : such of his ships as had escaped were repaired ; the whole maritime resources of the kingdom again collected ; the wealth of the Indies profusely lavished ; and a few months had not elapsed, when a third armament rode proudly in the ports of Ferrol and the Groyne, destined, as it was affirmed, to make a simultaneous descent upon England and Ireland.

It was to meet these formidable preparations that Elizabeth fitted out that naval expedition which has been

* Sidney Letters, vol. ii. pp. 54, 55.

called the *Island-voyage*. The force consisted of 120 sail, seventeen being her own ships, forty-three smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers. In this fleet were embarked 5000 newly levied troops, and 1000 veterans from the Netherlands under Sir Francis Vere ; but the lord-high-admiral, Howard, having from indisposition declined the chief command, it was unfortunately given to Essex, whose talents for the sea-service were inferior to his abilities as a statesman and soldier. Under him Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral, and Sir Walter Raleigh rear-admiral ; whilst the ships were commanded by the most experienced captains in England, amongst whom was Sir William Monson, Sir George Carew, Sir Richard Lewson, and Sir Thomas Vavasour.—Before they were ready to put to sea, it was resolved to dismiss the whole of the land-forces excepting the veterans under Sir Francis, and to aim principally at intercepting the Indian fleet.

They sailed on the 17th August ; but Raleigh's ship, the *Warspite*, had her mainyard broken by an accident ; and being obliged to lie behind for repair, she parted company from the commander. On arriving at Lisbon, he found a number of smaller vessels and tenders belonging to the fleet, and, in company with these, joined the main armament at the Azores. All this happened only in the ordinary course of events. But the creatures of Essex represented it as an intentional disrespect ; and the earl, jealous of his dignity, and unacquainted with the sea-service and its casualties, was with difficulty reconciled to the rear-admiral. The Isle of Flores was appointed for the general rendezvous ; and here, the fleet being at last assembled, they found to their mortification that the secret intelligence, which had represented the Spanish Armada to be stationed at the islands for the protection of the Indian merchantmen, was false.

It was now necessary to determine upon the order of their proceedings ; and Essex, who fully appreciated the naval experience of Raleigh, requested his counsels, to the surprise of those who had attempted to sow dis-

sension between them. In this consultation it was resolved that they themselves should attack Fayal, whilst Howard and Vere should carry Graciosa ; Lord Mountjoy and Sir Christopher Blount, St Michaels ; and the Netherland forces, Pico ; and, last of all, they were to unite and storm Terceira. Matters being thus arranged, Sir Walter had scarcely begun to wood and water, when Captain Champernon arrived to bid him follow the admiral, who had borne away for Fayal,—an order which he instantly obeyed ; but although he made all sail, it was found impossible to overtake his leader. In these circumstances nothing was left for Raleigh but to steer the straightest course for Fayal, of which he got sight by next morning. To his astonishment he found the road empty, and no news of the commander-in-chief. In this perplexity there was a division of opinion : Himself and the veterans of his own squadron, Brook, Gorges, and Harvey, aware that every hour's delay was so much gained by the enemy, who were busy fortifying the coast and town, earnestly advised an immediate descent ; but others who were dependants of Essex strongly opposed any landing without his knowledge and presence ; and Sir Walter, willing not to irritate the earl, agreed to postpone the enterprise for a short time.

Scarcely had this been determined when the wind tacked about, and Raleigh with part of the fleet coasted round the point, and dropped anchor in a better road than the first they occupied, having an inviting and beautiful view of the island, which appeared sprinkled with little villages and pleasant fields. Such a sight increased the appetite for landing ; and taking his barge, longboat, and pinnace, with threescore muskets and forty pikes, he resolved at least that they should have the comfort of filling their water-casks. The moment, however, they were ready to push off, a strong party of Spaniards were seen hastening to meet them, and, pre-occupying the trenches, stood waving their colours, brandishing their weapons, and daring the English to the attack. Observing this, Raleigh augmented his force

to the number of 260 men, all drawn from his own squadron, and rowing along the line, was warmly greeted by the Low Country captains, who begged him to accept a reinforcement from their companies. This he refused ; and having ordered the pinnaces, with some heavy ordnance in them, to play upon the trenches, whilst he and his men pulled to the landing-place as fast as oars could carry them, he leapt on shore, and heading his party made good his ground, although it was fortified by a barricade of earth and stone, which left only a narrow lane, completely raked by the enemy's guns. It had been always a principle of his, "that it was more difficult to defend a coast than to invade it ;"* the truth of which he now established by a practical example under circumstances which any eyewitness would have pronounced desperate. Leading in his own barge amid showers of shot, he waded through the water, and clambering up the rocks, cut his way at the head of his men through the narrow entrance, attacking the enemy with such resolution that they threw away their weapons and fled. In this service two longboats were sunk and a few soldiers slain or drowned, yet the loss was trifling in comparison with the advantage ; and when the officers of the Low Countries came on shore and examined the trenches, they paid the highest compliment to the skill and courage of the rear-admiral.

Having completed the landing, and reduced the fortifications, the next object was to make themselves masters of the town. Raleigh sent forward some sergeants and musketeers to reconnoitre the enemy's lines ; but intimidated by the formidable appearance of the batteries, one commanding the road and the other placed on a hill behind the town, they declined the service. The admiral upon this, observing that these foreign troops, whose exploits they had heard so vaunted, were likely to prove but commonplace warriors, declared that he would perform the duty himself, although it belonged rather to a common soldier than a commander. This

* History of the World, b. v. c. i. § 9 ; vol. vi. p. 104.

was at first taken for jest ; but he called for his casque and cuirass, and in spite of remonstrances, placing himself at the head of his men, proceeded to reconnoitre the town, and ascertain the approaches of the hill. In the midst of this service the cannon-shot and stones from the battered walls flew thick about him. Sir Arthur Gorges was wounded, two of the soldiers had their heads carried away, and the admiral was shot through the clothes in different places, yet without having the skin broken. Having completed his observations he was joined by Captain Berrie, and despatched orders for Captain Bret and the rest of the companies to come up, as he expected the fort, which seemed a complete military work, with curtain, ditch, and flankers, would give some trouble. All these precautions proved unnecessary ; for the first spirited attack had so disheartened the Spaniards, that they abandoned the post without firing a shot. They next marched against the town, and found it also deserted. In this manner, with the loss of about ten men killed and twenty wounded, Sir Walter rendered himself master of the whole island.

The town thus easily occupied was called Villa Dorta, being somewhat similar to Dover in situation, and about the size of Plymouth or Yarmouth as they were in Elizabeth's time. It was built of stone, divided into spacious streets, interspersed with gardens, and contained a handsome church, nunnery, and monastery ; its inhabitants were mostly of Dutch descent, though speaking Portuguese. As it was unwalled, Raleigh dreaded a surprise whilst his soldiers were scattered about in search of plunder or provisions ; for which reason he raised some strong barricades, planted a watch at intervals, ordered a guard to remain under arms in the market-place, and prohibited the men from straggling "twenty score yards" without the consent of an officer.

Having adopted these precautions, they reposed during the night, and before daybreak Essex's fleet was discovered bearing in full sail to Fayal roads. We may easily conceive the disappointment of this high-spirited

leader, when he found the victory gained, and his rear-admiral in possession of the island. No one was ever more jealous than Essex of any intrusion upon his command, or the slightest taint upon his honour; and, unfortunately, as had already been shown at Flores, there were many of his flatterers in the fleet, who scrupled not to represent the whole conduct of the rear-admiral as an insolent contempt of discipline, a marked disobedience of his superior in command, for which he might be called to answer at the risk of his head. Thus exasperated, the earl in the first ebullition of resentment laid all the officers who had engaged in the action under arrest; and when Sir Walter arrived on board to welcome and conduct him to the town, he openly accused him of a breach of orders, there being an article in the instructions, that none should land any of the troops without the general's presence. Raleigh admitted the order; but, craving leave to defend himself, explained in a temperate tone that it regarded captains and inferior officers, whilst he was a principal commander, and not subject to any such restriction, being nominated by her majesty's letters to take the guidance of the whole fleet, failing the earl and Lord Thomas Howard. To this, as it was true, Essex had no reply to offer; and when made aware that they had waited for his arrival, and that at first there was no serious intention of attacking the town, he became pacified, and by the kindly offices of Lord Thomas Howard, matters were brought to an amicable conclusion.

Although too facile and apt to be abused by flatterers, the earl's disposition was noble and generous; and finding himself in the wrong he was as quick to turn his anger against those who had deceived him, as he was anxious to offer reparation to all whom he had injured. His greatest failing was an excessive ambition for individual glory, and a desire to be universally popular,—qualities which sometimes caused him to think more of himself than of the queen's service, and from which his present discontent arose.

Every thing, however, was now settled ; and having reduced the town to ashes, they proceeded to Graciosa. Here Essex suffered himself to be so completely gained over by the chiefs of the island, who brought good store of provisions, that he gave up all thoughts of an assault, and steered for St Michaels, where the fleet encountered and took three Spanish vessels, the greatest of which, of 400 tons, richly freighted with goods and passengers, was captured by Raleigh. On examination the prizes were found to be worth 400,000 ducats, being laden with cochineal, silver, gold, pearls, civet, musk, ambergris, and other profitable merchandise. Sir Arthur Gorges, who was Sir Walter's captain, and writes an account of this voyage, has here mentioned an amiable trait of his commander : On hearing from those who had examined it the richness of the Spanish cargoes, the rear-admiral said privately to this officer, " Although we shall be little the better for these rich prizes, yet I am heartily glad for our general's sake ; because they will, in great measure, give content to her majesty ; so that there may be no repining against this poor lord for the expense of the voyage."*

These kind anticipations might have proved true, had the commandant behaved with firmness, and followed the advice of the veteran seamen ; but he listened to the suggestions of parasites, who possessed neither skill nor honesty, and there followed only a series of failures and mortifications. On departing from Graciosa four sail were descried ; one of which, from its size, was supposed to be a carrack belonging to the Plate-fleet. Upon this the earl divided his force into three squadrons, commanded by himself, Howard, and Raleigh, ordering Captain Monson to steer southward, and make signals to the rest if he overtook the enemy. While concerting this a bark, which had passed the suspected vessels, assured him they were part of his own ships. The orders were then recalled. However, Monson was already out of sight,

* Oldys, p. 297.

and within three hours he descried the whole Spanish fleet, fired guns, hung out lights, and made every signal ; but Essex, in pursuit of some new fancy, had altered his course, and stood for St Michaels. Even here his want of naval skill proved ruinous, for he chose the course by the north of Terceira ; whereas, if he had taken the shortest by Angra, he must have met the rich flotilla. " We may say, and that truly, there was never that possibility to have undone the state of Spain as now ; for every royal of plate we had taken in this fleet had been two to them, by our converting it by war upon them. None of the captains could be blamed in this business ; all is to be attributed to the want of experience in my lord [of Essex], and his flexible nature to be overruled : for the first hour he anchored at Flores, and called a council, Sir William Monson advised him to run west, spreading his fleet north and south, so far as the eastern wind that then blew would carry them. * * * This advice my lord seemed to embrace ; but was diverted by divers gentlemen, who, coming principally for land service, found themselves tired by the tediousness of the sea. * * * Certain it is, if my lord had followed his advice, within less than forty hours he had made the queen owner of that fleet."*

Meanwhile the English steered for St Michaels ; and as Raleigh lay there waiting the arrival of the commander-in-chief, who was again running after some fruitless enterprise, a carrack of 1800 tons, loaded with treasure, bore in with all sail amongst his ships, mistaking them for Spaniards, at which sight he gave orders to haul down every flag, and that no one should, at the highest peril, either fire a gun, or put off a boat. All lay quietly at anchor eyeing their golden victim, which without suspicion was proudly advancing, and in a few minutes retreat would have been impossible, when a loggerheaded Hollander, either neglecting or mistaking the signals,

* Monson's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. pp. 190, 191.

discharged a shot at the stranger, who, perceiving her error, changed her course as nimbly as a frightened dove; but at the same moment the wind chopped about, and she ran aground under the town and fort. "We hasted all we could," says Gorges in his animated and beautiful description of this incident, "when we saw her aground, tottering and reeling, with those few boats we had left, to have entered her. But before we could make us ready, or come near her, being three miles off, she was on light fire in many places, her ordnance thundering off apace, and too hot to be approached, much less to be entered at that time, without inevitable destruction. And yet such haste was made to have prevented this mischief, that divers had like, by overcharging boats and pinnaces, to have foundered in the seas, the billows going very high. And in that case was our rear-admiral amongst others, who, for haste to this banquet, took his row barge, and was so ill able in her to endure the seas that were rough, and went high at that time, as that I, by chance, seeing him so ill bested and in danger, was fain to clap him aboard with a good stout shipboat that I was in, having made haste also to that feast as fast as I could. But, in conclusion, we came all too late, for the broth was grown too hot for our supping. To behold her thus flaming was a grievous sight to us, but a most wretched spectacle for the Portugals, so to see their goods, by their own deeds and fury, to perish by fire and water in a goodly vessel, judged to be 1800 tons at the least. She was a whole night and all the next day in burning; and, in beholding her, you might have seen the very shape, cordage, masts, and furniture of a ship to perfectly in fire, as no painter could have half so well resembled it with art or colours. And when she was clean consumed to the water, there arose still a great smoke out of the sea for many hours after, by reason of some close decks full of spices and sugar under water, which the fire had taken hold of."*

* Relation of Sir Arthur Gorges, in Purchas's Pilgrimes, vol. v. p. 1965.

Having lost this opportunity of humbling the power of Spain by the capture of their treasure-fleet, Essex committed another error in delaying his return home, when assured by his best officers that nothing more at that season remained to be done. The time was vainly spent in attempts to repair his own glory by some exploit, whilst the armada of Philip sailed from the Groyne and Ferrol, and, finding the coast of England undefended, contemplated an easy landing, and a sanguinary reckoning for the disasters of 1588. But at the moment when human help seemed vain, the elements were once more let loose, and the fleet of Philip for the third time was scattered in a thousand fragments upon the ocean. Meanwhile Essex, after encountering the same storms, made the western coast late in October, and posted to London, whilst Raleigh went to Plymouth. The object of the earl was to obtain the queen's ear to his own story first; that of his rear-admiral to provide for the disembarkation and payment of the troops, for repairing the ships damaged in the late gales, and for distributing the Low Country regiments along the coast of Cornwall, as a protection against any renewed attempt of the Spaniards. Both acted in conformity to their ruling dispositions,—Essex with a single eye to the defence of his own honour, which he felt was tarnished by his late errors, and Sir Walter with that strict attention to his duty, which became a commander of integrity and experience.

The earl's reception at court was mortifying in the extreme. Instead of welcome the queen met him with reproaches; accused him of misconduct; proudly demanded why he had neither burnt nor taken the Ferrol fleet; blamed the escape of the Indian carracks; and drove him by her anger to shut himself up in his house at Wanstead. In his absence, too, she had promoted his rival Cecil to the post of Master of the Wards, and had raised the Lord-admiral Howard to the peerage by the title of Earl of Nottingham, mentioning in his patent that the reward was conferred for his services against the Armada, and his conduct in the attack at Cadiz. This

last circumstance was deeply resented by Essex. He had himself been commander-in-chief in that action, and considering Howard's promotion as a direct impeachment of his honour, sent him a challenge. In a letter from Roland Whyte, who was then at court, to Sir Robert Sidney, the earl's displeasure is strongly painted: "I hear my lord Essex desires to have right done him, either by a commission to examine it, or by combat, either against the Earl of Nottingham himself, or any of his sons, or of his name, that will defend it. Or that her majesty will please to see the wrong done unto him. And so will he suffer himself to be commanded by her as she please herself. Here is such ado about it, as it troubles this place and all other proceedings. Sir Walter Raleigh is employed by the queen to end this quarrel, and to make an atonement between them. But this is the resolution of Lord Essex, not to yield but with altering the patent, which cannot be done, but by persuasion to bring the Earl of Nottingham unto it."*

These court broils, which so disquieted the queen, were not easily allayed. On the first mention of altering his patent, old Howard pretended sickness, and shut himself up in his house at Chelsea; whilst Elizabeth, tormented betwixt her regard for her favourite and her desire to be just, accused Burleigh and Secretary Cecil of bringing her into the dilemma, "who defended themselves with infinite protestations, execrations, and vows." Sir Walter, however, at length effected an amicable arrangement: Nottingham kept his patent, Essex was made earl-marshal, the queen was contented to forget his failures, and the courtiers wondered to observe the great familiarity which again grew up between him, Cecil, and Raleigh.

Having succeeded thus far, and wearied with his constant hard service, Sir Walter retired to his seat at Sherborne, expecting that some honour would be conferred upon him; yet the place of vice-chamberlain, which

* Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 77.

about this time became vacant, was carried off by superior interest, and given to Sir Robert Sidney. But although disappointed in this object of his ambition, he found many resources in the useful, learned, or elegant studies, to which he devoted these brief intervals of leisure. With ordinary minds universality of pursuit is generally the grave of excellence, as it too commonly dilutes and destroys all original talent; but the case was different with this remarkable man, whose genius was as varied and discursive as it was powerful. He could turn himself with surprising facility from mathematics to poetry, from cosmographical speculations or metaphysical disquisitions on the nature of the soul to the lighter subjects of music,* ornamental gardening or painting, to historical or antiquarian researches; and all the while, instead of sinking, as others similarly occupied would have done, into a dreaming philosopher, or a mere literary recluse, he kept up his intercourse with the world, maintained his connexions with the court, had a vigilant eye upon the politics of England and the continent, and was ready to avail himself of any new avenue which opened to his ambition or his love of glory. As a mathematician, his chief friends were Hariot, Dee, and the Earl of Northumberland. In the study of antiquities, we find him an original member of the earliest society established in England for the cultivation of this useful and interesting branch of knowledge; an institution which reckoned amongst its numbers the celebrated names of Spelman, Selden, Cotton, Camden, Saville, Stow, and many others,—honoured by some of the greatest men in the country during the time of Elizabeth, but suffered to fall into neglect by her successor.† Upon the same subjects he appears to have corresponded with Selden and Cotton, availing himself of their collections of manuscripts, and communicating to the former of these authors some of his own rarer pieces.

But there was another and a more interesting asso-

* Oldys, p. 81.

† MS. quoted by Oldys, p. 317.

ciation, of which Sir Walter is said to have been the founder, known in the dramatic history of the times as the Mermaid Club, which had its meetings at the tavern of this name in Fleet Street. Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, Fletcher, Beaumont, Carew, Donne, and other geniuses of that brilliant period, were numbered amongst its members;* and the poems of Beaumont contain allusions to those encounters of nimble wit, those rare tales and "jests of subtle flame," in which he bore a part on such occasions. Pity it is that no record of these poetical symposia has been left, if we except an allusion of Fuller, which is obscure and somewhat apocryphal.†

In the mean time, while Raleigh enjoyed a temporary retirement at Sherborne, or passed his social and literary hours in the conversation of the choicest spirits of the time, the circumstances of the country became in no small degree critical. Spain, harassed by her double war with France and England, was solicitous for peace, and made overtures to Henry IV., who, before proceeding to negotiate, communicated with Elizabeth and the States. The queen resolved to despatch Cecil to the French court to watch the conferences, and induce the monarch to adopt the course most favourable to the Protestant cause, of which she had so long been the champion. But this wary minister was reluctant to leave England, dreading the machinations of his enemies. "His fear was that some might be advanced in his absence whom he could not like of;" and the entertainments, which we find given him at this time by Raleigh and his other friends, were probably artfully contrived to delay his voyage and afford time to arrange a secret correspondence, and set his spies and posts in training, who brought him letters of every thing that should be done. These singular particulars, which throw so strong a light upon the

* Gifford's Life of Jonson, pp. 65, 66. Weber's Introduction to Beaumont and Fletcher, Seward's Preface, p. 158. None of these authors give their authority for this curious piece of literary history. The reader will find a short note on the subject at the end of the volume.

† Worthies, vol. ii. p. 414.

policy of this noted minister, appear in the Sidney Letters. On the 30th January, Mr Whyte, then at court, informs Sir Robert Sidney, "that my Lord Compton, Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my Lord Southampton, do severally feast Mr Secretary before he depart, and have plays and banquets; my Lady Darby, my Lady Walsingham, Mrs Anne Russel, are of the company, and my Lady Raleigh." On the 11th February he sends word, that Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter, and divers others had accompanied Cecil to Dover; and adds this little piece of private information regarding the dislike of his foreign embassy:—"I heard it said in very great secret, that this employment much troubled him, and that within these very few days past he had no fancy to go, till Essex did assure him that in his absence nothing should be done here that might be disagreeable unto him." On the 15th of February, believing he had provided against intrigues during his absence, Cecil departed. "Mr Secretary," so Whyte writes, "is embarked and gone, unless these contrary winds drive him back again. I am credibly informed, that before he went away, Essex and he agreed upon the bringing in of your lordship and Sir Walter Raleigh into council. During Mr Secretary's being at Dover, he had every day posts sent unto him of all things done, were they never so private; surely he hath great and inward and assured friends about the queen."*

To remonstrate with Henry IV. against his intention of concluding a peace, without the concurrence of Elizabeth and the States, formed the main object of the mission; but on the secretary's arrival he had the mortification to find that the French king had already committed himself, and that every attempt to break off the truce was vain. The treaty of Vervins was accordingly signed between France and Spain on the 2d of May 1598; and the favourable terms granted to Henry IV. appear to have changed the mind of the minister regarding the

* Sidney Letters, vol. ii. pp. 86, 89, 90.

policy to be adopted by England. The queen had lost her French ally; Spain was so weakened by repeated reverses that it was conjectured her monarch, who was languishing under the disease of which he soon after died, would not be difficult to deal with in a negotiation; and the secretary, on considering these circumstances, recommended pacific measures, in which opinion he was confirmed by the experience of his father. When he returned from France, the subject was brought before the privy-council and keenly debated. On this occasion the Lord-treasurer Burleigh appeared for the last time in public, and in vain attempted to convince Essex, who strongly opposed a peace, that this obstinate desire for an interminable and sanguinary contest was alike impolitic and unchristian. The earl, however, was immovable, and the venerable statesman concluded the debate in a singular manner; for, pulling a prayer-book from his pocket, he opened it at the Psalms, and placing it before Essex, silently pointed to these words: "Men of blood shall not live out half their days;"—a warning which, considering the near and sudden fall of that nobleman, might to superstitious minds appear almost prophetic.

While such was the difference of opinion amongst the ministers, Raleigh continued to possess the favour of the queen, and to exert his influence for the good of the country. His time appears to have been divided between his seat at Sherborne and his attendance at court, where he vied in his taste for magnificence with the greatest lords, and even with the favourite Essex.

A singular instance of this species of rivalry has been commemorated, though somewhat obscurely, by Lord Clarendon. No sovereign of England ever took greater delight, or boasted of having a more discerning taste in the masques, tournaments, pageants, and martial games of her court, than Elizabeth. Great rejoicings were usually held upon her birthday; on which occasion, surrounded by the fair and noble, and attended by her gravest counsellors, by foreign ambassadors and illustrious strangers, the queen presided in the tilt-yard, commending

the combatants and adjudging the prize to the most worthy knight. In such exhibitions, Raleigh, a man of fine figure, skilful in the use of his weapons, and of an ingenious fancy in the various dresses and devices then in vogue, made a striking appearance. He carried off the victory, and wore the favour of his royal mistress—a jewel, or a scarf, or some such brilliant trifle—with as much display of devotion as if it had been a first gift from the lady of his affections. All this moved the jealousy of Essex; and one birthday, having learnt that Sir Walter had prepared a pageant in which he and his company were to wear plumes of orange-tawny feathers, he chose to enter the barriers at the same moment, leading a troop of 200 cavaliers, sumptuously accoutred, and every one having an orange plume; so that Raleigh and his followers were scarcely observed, but seemed merely to follow the banner of this nobler assembly. The triumph, however, was short; for when it came to the tilting, the earl, who was no great adept, ran so ill that his remarkable appearance only attracted all eyes to his failure. Sir Walter's victory was complete, and he saw his rival renounce the orange-tawny, in which he had gained little honour, and reappear in a green suit. It was on this occasion, as we learn from Lord Bacon in his Apothegms, that “one of the spectators asking why this tilter, who seemed to be known in both habits, had changed his colours, another ironically answered, ‘Surely because it may be reported that there was one in green who ran worse than he in orange colour.’”

From these splendid yet trifling scenes of feudal display, the attention of the queen and her ministers was called to the alarming state of Ireland, and the necessity of determining on the policy to be pursued towards Spain. The rebellion which had broken out under Tyrone required the presence of some experienced ruler, who might hold the reins with a firm hand and humane spirit. The government of that island had hitherto been too fluctuating, either unscrupulously cruel and severe, or exceedingly indulgent and lenient.

Attached to Spain by the ties of a common faith, the Roman Catholics were swayed by the emissaries of Philip ; and the Earl of Tyrone, whose first insurrection had been subdued by Sir John Norris, again organized an extensive conspiracy ; three Spanish ships landed ammunition on the northern coast ; and the council of Elizabeth had no softer terms to describe the disturbances, than "that it was a universal rebellion to shake off the English government." Raleigh had already served in Ireland ; and, anxious to profit by his experience, the privy-council sent for him to deliver his opinion ; but the original letters which inform us of this circumstance do not describe the policy he recommended, though it may be gathered that he was averse to accepting the situation of lord-deputy.

It was necessary, however, to recall the Earl of Ormond, with whose proceedings the queen was dissatisfied, and to fix upon his successor. Elizabeth had selected Sir Robert Knolles for the charge ; whilst his nephew, Essex, presumed to differ from her majesty, and earnestly recommended Sir George Carew. On this occasion that extraordinary scene took place at the council-table, from which the favourite's downfall is commonly dated. The earl argued keenly for Carew, the queen pleaded as strongly for Knolles ; and Essex, unable to command his temper, abruptly and contemptuously turned his back upon his mistress, who bestowed upon him a smart box on the ear. At this his fury knew no bounds, and, clapping his hand on his sword, he swore loudly, that "he would not have borne such an indignity from her father, Henry VIII." Elizabeth, who inherited not a little of her parent's temper and spirit, upbraided him with his insolence, and dismissed him from her presence : upon which the spoiled child of fortune instantly retired from court, and shut himself up in one of his houses. In vain did the Lord-keeper Egerton remonstrate against this foolish conduct, and point out, that it gave a dangerous advantage to his enemies, and rendered useless the service of his friends. Essex returned a passionate but

eloquent answer :—“ Let Solomon’s fool laugh when he is stricken ; let those who mean to make their profit of princes show no sense of princes’ injuries ; let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth, who do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven.—In this course do I any thing for mine enemies ? When I was present I found them absolute, and therefore I had rather they triumph alone than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave my friends ? When I was a courtier, I could sell them no fruit of my love ; and now I am a hermit, they shall bear no envy for their love to me.”*

Nothing could be more judicious than the keeper’s advice in this matter, and it would have been happy for this unfortunate nobleman if he had condescended to follow it ; but he persisted in his retirement,—he pressed his own ideas regarding the proper mode of governing Ireland,—he exposed the errors of the late rulers, and still represented Carew as the only man able to reduce it to order and obedience. This overbearing conduct was not lost upon the enemies of the earl. His behaviour to Raleigh, who was now restored to a higher share of the queen’s favour than he had ever enjoyed, had been repeatedly unjust and insulting ; and he appears to have come to the conclusion, that he and Essex could not both remain upon the dangerous height to which they had been raised. From this moment there seems reason to believe that Sir Walter became Devereux’s avowed enemy.

Wearied at length by the insolence of her favourite, Elizabeth, after a partial reconciliation, availed herself of a hint given by Cecil or Raleigh, and nominated Essex himself for the government of Ireland. That this was a snare on their part to bring about his disgrace cannot be doubted. They were aware of many impediments to the execution of his schemes for the pacification of that country, which had not presented themselves to his sanguine temper. The queen had been recently much

* Oldys’s Life, p. 319.

incensed against him, and was yet hardly reconciled. She had not forgotten the disasters of the Island-voyage and the escape of the Plate-fleet ; and any failure in Ireland, they knew, would be fatal to him. Whilst Cecil had her majesty's ear at home, and could raise her expectations as to what Essex might accomplish with the forces intrusted to him, he could also, as secretary of state, exercise a control over those details which render an army efficient or otherwise, and might, if he chose to avail himself of this ungenerous advantage, at once abridge his power, and blame him for not bringing the rebellion to a speedier termination.

The favourite himself considered the government of Ireland as little else than an honourable exile, and went with an avowed reluctance to that ill-fated country which had been the grave of his father's fortunes. But, by his late discourses, he had committed himself too far to recede ; his pride would not allow any triumph to his enemies ; and his ardent temper perhaps anticipated a speedy reduction of that island, and a brilliant return to court. The letter of farewell which he wrote to Elizabeth upon his departure is too extraordinary to be omitted. It is eloquent, desponding, and amorous, breathing the reproaches of a lover whose fate had been as cruel as his constancy was undying ; and this to a mistress who was then in her sixty-fifth year !

“ TO THE QUEEN.—From a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travel, from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive ; what service can your majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription into the cursedest of all islands ? It is your rebels' pride and succession must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison, out of my loathed body ; which, if it happen so, your majesty shall have no cause to mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you.

" Happy is he could finish forth his fate
 In some unhaunted desert, most obscure
 From all society, from love and hate
 Of worldly folk ; then should he sleep secure,
 Then wake again, and yield God ever praise :
 Content with hips, and haws, and brambleberry,
 —In contemplation passing out his days,
 And change of holy thoughts to make him merry,
 Who, when he dies, his tomb may be a bush
 Where harmless Robin dwells with gentle thrush.

" Your majesty's exiled servant,

" ROBERT ESSEX."

The events which took place after the departure of Essex were of a nature as remarkable as their causes were obscure. He had been in his new government scarcely four months, during which hostilities against the rebels had rather been protracted than prosecuted, when Elizabeth, without any apparent reason, threw herself into a warlike attitude. Eighteen ships were fitted out with the utmost expedition under Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh ; 6000 soldiers were raised to guard the city and the queen's person ; chains drawn across the streets of London, watches set, lights hung out at the doors, and every defence adopted against foreign invasion or domestic insurrection. But from what quarter the danger was apprehended none distinctly knew. Spain, after concluding a peace with France, was undoubtedly preparing a fleet at the Groyne. Yet, although its destination was mysterious, there seemed no reason to doubt that towards England the policy of this great power was pacific. Some fanciful speculators have imagined that this alarm had its rise in a suspicion of the Earl of Essex, whose inactivity had deeply incensed the queen, and enabled his enemies to possess her with the idea that he meditated an attack on his native country, and a subversion of the government.* But whatever the causes might be, they ceased to operate

* It was rumoured at court that Essex intended to land his army at Milford Haven and march to London. There are some papers on this subject amongst the Hatfield MSS.

within a short time ; for the fleet was ordered home before it had been a month at sea, whilst the rapidity with which the queen could assume a complete panoply, and make her people spring up in arms, astonished the foreigners then in London, and produced a happy effect in preparing the way for peace.

Essex in the mean time had grievously disappointed Elizabeth by his conduct in Ireland. He discovered, when it was too late to retract, that to put down the rebellion with speed and facility was impossible. His fault lay not so much in the measures he adopted ; for, considering the circumstances of the country, there can be little doubt that they were judicious and humane, but in having so severely and ignorantly condemned the same policy in his predecessors, and in promising a change before he knew that it was practicable. Of all this Cecil and Raleigh, who watched every opportunity to shake his power, availed themselves ; and there seems reason to believe they had a willing coadjutor in the Earl of Nottingham. To their royal mistress, no longer under the influence of the favourite's presence, which never failed to revive her attachment and admiration, they exaggerated his delays and expenses ; to himself they used expressions of resentment more bitter than she probably would have sanctioned ; and, aware of the violent and haughty spirit upon which they worked, ungenerously anticipated the result which so soon took place.

We have the testimony of an eyewitness, Sir W. Knolles, that the queen's temper with regard to Essex had become so exceedingly variable and distracted that he knew not what to advise. At one time she was disposed to melt into tenderness, and to consider herself and sweet Robin in the sole light of a mistress and her lover ; at another, when pressed by Cecil or by Raleigh with his increasing haughtiness, his demands for troops and money, the inactivity of the brave army he commanded, the spreading of the rebellion, and the repeated truces made with Tyrone, she became furious and abusive. She even upbraided him with having betrayed her in-

terests ; and she listened to suspicions of his intentions, to dark hints of his dangerous popularity, and the probability of his attempting some enterprise against the government. An interesting letter, written about this time by Essex to Elizabeth, shows how soon he detected all this, and how boldly he could reply to it.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—Although I see your style already changed, and nothing but gathering clouds and foul weather after me, yet my duty, faith, and industry, shall never alter. Let me fall as low and as soon as destiny and yourself have decreed. I am prepared for all things. But, dear sovereign, when you are weary of me, let me die as a private man. Take care of your honour ; take pity of your brave army, whereof, for the time, I am the head and soul ; and take to heart, that our success imports your estate. Value such honest men as we, that undergo all hazards and miseries for your safety and greatness ; and cherish such gallant and worthy servants as this bearer, who will take it for as great happiness to be sacrificed for you, as others, whom you favour most, will be to be made great and happy by you. Cherish them, I humbly beseech you upon the knees of my heart ; for they must sweat and bleed for you, when a crew of those, which now more delight you, will prove but unprofitable servants. And if your majesty, if you, I say, whose parting with me so pierced my very soul, can be transformed by those *Sirens* that are about you, then think, that you shall quickly hear, that a brave death shall ransom from scorn and misery your majesty’s humblest servant,
“ESSEX.”

These sirens about the queen were undoubtedly of the male gender ; and had the earl signed himself her majesty’s proudest lover, instead of her humblest servant, it would have been more in character. But in this instance Essex, himself open and forgiving, presumed too much on her partiality, and without proceeding against Tyrone, made a new demand for 2000 men. That these

levies were necessary, and that the earl had embraced a policy which in the end would have reduced the country more effectually than a war of extermination, is now apparent. But in the mean time he had belied his promises; and his enemies triumphantly compared his present delay with his bold censures of former governors. This produced a letter from the queen, dated at Nonsuch, in which she assumed a tone of the utmost severity and bitterness; observing that the manner of his proceedings had little accorded either with her directions or the world's expectation; and accusing him of filling her with high hopes of the great things he would accomplish, which were overthrown by his actions, though he took care she should have no time to countermand them. She then broke out into reproaches which must have galled him to the quick: "Who doth not see, that if this course be continued, the wars are like to spend us and our kingdom beyond all moderation, as well as the report of the [rebels'] success in all parts hath blemished our honour, and encouraged others to no small proportion! We know you cannot so much fail in judgment as not to understand, that all the world seeth, how time is dallied, though you think the allowance of that council, whose subscriptions are your echo, should serve and satisfy us. How would you have derided any man else that should have followed your steps! How often have you told us that others, which preceded you, had no intent to end the war! How often have you resolved us, that until Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon were planted, there could be no hope of doing service upon the capital rebels! We must therefore let you know, that as it cannot be ignorance, so it cannot be want of means; for you had your asking, you had choice of times, you had power and authority more ample than ever any had, or any shall have." The queen concluded in a strain which adds suspicion to reproach; as if Essex had held out threats, and intended to intimidate by the strength of his party rather than convince by the soundness of his arguments: "We have seen a writing in the form of a cartel, full of challenges

that are impertinent, and of comparisons that are needless, such as hath not been before this time presented to a state, except it be done now with a hope to terrify all men from censuring your proceedings. Had it not been enough to have sent us the testimony of the council, but you must call so many of those that are of slender experience, and none of our council, to such a form of subscription? Surely, howsoever you may have warranted them, we doubt not but to let them know what belongs to us, to you, and to themselves.”*

This letter, in which I suspect the cold and piquant sarcasm of Cecil was mingled with the personal resentment of the queen, produced the intended catastrophe, goading the impetuous Essex to that excitement which blinds the understanding. His best friends had assured him his absence would give his enemies opportunities which might be fatal; that they would exasperate the queen's mind, teach her to expect impossibilities, and infuse suspicions of his loyalty and affection, which they dared not breathe while he was present to confront them. All this it was now his lot to experience; and he was aware, as his letters abundantly show, who they were that plotted against him. “Is it not,” says he, “believed by the rebels, that those, whom you favour most, do more hate me out of faction, than them out of duty and conscience? Is it not lamented of your majesty's faithfullest subjects, both there and here, that a Cobham or a Raleigh (I will forbear others for their places' sake) should have such credit and favour with your majesty, when they wish the ill success of your majesty's most important action, the decay of your greatest strength, and the destruction of your faithfullest servants. Yes, yes; I see both my own destiny and your majesty's decree; and do willingly embrace the one and obey the other. Let me honestly and zealously end a wearisome life. Let others live in deceitful and inconstant pleasures: let me bear the brunt and die meritoriously. Let others

* Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. pp. 431, 432.

achieve and finish the work, and live to erect trophies. But my prayer shall be, that when my sovereign loseth me, her army may not lose courage, or this kingdom want physic, or her dearest self miss Essex ; and then I can never go in a better time, nor in a fairer way.”*

But even allowing for the highest resentment, and his assurance of the power he yet possessed over Elizabeth's affections, Essex's resolution to abandon his government without leave, and to travel post to court, before the queen had received the slightest intimation of his design, is much too desperate and abrupt to have sprung from the ordinary motives assigned by our popular historians. It is for this reason I am disposed to credit a story repeatedly treated as fabulous ; but corroborated both by the character of its author and the circumstances under which it took place. Secretary Cecil, it is said, contrived that a report should reach Essex of the desperate illness of his royal mistress, “ all ships being stopped but what carried that false intelligence.” This news, which came suddenly upon him, had the effect anticipated. Forgetting her reproaches, and actuated only by his attachment, the earl committed his government to Sir George Carey, and sailing straight for England, arrived at the court at Nonsuch early in the morning, while the queen was yet in her bedchamber. Although in his riding-dress, and covered with mud, he made haste up stairs, and boldly entered the bedroom, where he found her majesty, who had just risen, sitting in a loose wrapper, with her hair about her face. She screamed at the suddenness of the apparition, and the maids of honour ran about in confusion ; but Essex knelt. The sight of a lover at her feet brought back all Elizabeth's tenderness ; she stretched out her hand, which he passionately kissed ; and after some private talk with her, coming from the chamber to retire and change his dress, he showed great contentment, thanking God that, although he had suffered much

* Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 418.



PORTRAIT OF THE EARL OF ESSEX.

All things now hurried on the fate of Essex, he was examined and arraigned before the council, confined to his chamber, cut off from intercourse with his family and friends, and treated with a rigour for which it is difficult to account

trouble and storms abroad, he had found a sweet calm at home.

Yet these happy expectations were blasted in a few hours. When he went up again after dinner to see the queen, her manner was entirely changed. Indeed, from the moment of his arrival, the secretary and his party, one of the chief of whom was Raleigh, looked coldly on him ; and it may be suspected Cecil and Sir Walter had in the interval inflamed her mind against him. Raleigh, indeed, who avowed himself his enemy, on finding that Elizabeth showed some disposition to relent, either felt or affected so much chagrin that he took to his bed, which occasioned her majesty to send for him ; but Cecil, more cautious and refined, pretended pity, whilst he really studied to exasperate the royal resentment.

All things now hurried on the fate of Essex : He was examined and arraigned before the council ; confined to his chamber ; cut off from intercourse with his family and friends ; and treated with a rigour for which it is difficult to account. One of the letters he at this time addressed to Elizabeth is striking ; and it says little certainly for the heart that could resist it :—

“ My dear, my gracious, and my admired Sovereign is *semper eadem*. It cannot be, but that she will hear the sighs and groans, and read the lamentations and humble petitions of the afflicted. Therefore, O paper, whensoever her eyes vouchsafe to behold thee, say, that death is the end of all worldly misery, but continual indignation makes misery perpetual ; that present misery is never intolerable to them that are stayed by future hope, but affliction that is unseen is commanded to despair ; that nature, youth, and physic, have had many strong encounters ; but if my sovereign will forget me, I have nourished these contentions too long ; for in this exile of mine eyes, if mine humble letters find not access, no death can be so speedy as it shall be welcome to me, your majesty’s humblest vassal, “ ESSEX.”*

* Birch’s Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 436.

Another of his letters ends with this affecting sentence : " What therefore remaineth for me ? Only this, to beseech your majesty, on the knees of my heart, to conclude my punishment with misery, and my life together ; that I may go to my Saviour who hath paid himself a ransom for me, and whom methinks I still hear calling me out of this unkind world, in which I have lived too long, and once thought myself too happy."

That the queen retained an affection for Essex cannot be doubted. She wept when informed that his anxiety had thrown him into a fever, from which he was hardly expected to recover ; ordered eight physicians of the greatest experience to consult upon his case ; and sent Dr James with some broth, and a message " that she would visit him if she might with her honour." But some unknown malignant influence counteracted every disposition to relent ; and this I suspect may be traced to Cecil, though his habitual caution and love of working in the dark withheld him from coming forward as an open foe. He even professed neutrality ; yet, when the earl and his friends requested a personal reconciliation, he steadily refused it, " because there was no constancy in his lordship's love,"*—an accusation disproved by the whole tenor of Essex's life. Yet though he declined a reconciliation, we find, by a remarkable letter written by Raleigh to Cecil, that the Secretary was disposed to relent towards Essex. It is painful to read this epistle, which presents its author in an attitude of the deepest unforgiveness and revenge ; but by omitting it we should lose, in the insipid generalities of indiscriminate eulogy, those minute touches which impart its value to biography. The letter is as follows :—

" SIR,—I am not wise enough to give you advice ; but if you take it for a good counsel to relent towards this tyrant, you will repent when it shall be too late. His malice is fixed, and will not evaporate by any of your

* Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 437.

mild courses ; for he will ascribe the alteration to her majesty's pusillanimity and not to your good nature, knowing that you work but upon her humour, and not out of any love toward him. The less you make him, the less he shall be able to harm you and yours ; and if her majesty's favour fail him, he will again decline to a common person. For after-revenges, fear them not ; for your own father was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his son followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humours of men succeed not, but grow by occasions and accidents of time and power. Somerset made no revenge on the Duke of Northumberland's heirs ; Northumberland that now is, thinks not of Hatton's issue ; Kelloway lives that murdered the brother of Horsey ; and Horsey let him go-by all his lifetime. I could name you a thousand of those ; and therefore after-fears are but prophecies or rather conjectures from causes remote : look to the present, and you do wisely. His son shall be the youngest earl of England but one ; and if his father be now kept down, Will Cecil shall be able to keep as many men at his heels as he, and more too. He may also match in a better house than his ; and so that fear is not worth the fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break the branches, and pull up the tree root and all. Lose not your advantage ; if you do, I read your destiny. Let the queen hold Bothwell ; while she hath him he will ever be the canker of her estate and safety. Princes are lost by security, and preserved by prevention. I have seen the last of her good days, and all ours, after his liberty.—Yours,

“ W. R.”*

That this letter was written by Raleigh, though only marked with his initials, cannot be doubted. It was evidently composed under the conviction that the struggle between Essex and his opponents was one for life or death. His argument to Cecil is, keep uppermost when

* Murdin's State-papers, p. 811.

you have the advantage : If you relent and the favourite regain the ascendancy, you, and your house, and your friends, tree, root, and all, will be pulled up. If you let him rise, he knows it is not because you love him, but only to humour the queen. Fear no after-revenges ; keep him down, and your son will rise upon his ruins. If the father continue, I read your destiny. We see then that Essex's most bitter enemy at this moment was Raleigh. No defence can be offered for the letter, full, as it is, of revenge, selfishness, and craft ; but we have no reason to believe that it had much effect on Cecil. He had already chosen his course, and resisted any reconciliation with the fallen earl ; whilst Elizabeth, whose temper was imbittered by age, allowed herself to be worked upon by his enemies till she could be satisfied with nothing short of the earl's ruin. At this time the queen often consulted Mr Francis Bacon, afterwards the great chancellor, and then in esteem at court on account of his talents as well as of his relationship to Burleigh. To his honour, he invariably spoke in favour of mild measures towards Essex ; and he was in consequence treated coldly by the Cecils. There were faults and contempts in the case, he admitted ; but might not his lordship defend himself by the greatness of his place, the amplitude of his commission, the nature of the business, being action of war, not tied to strictness of instructions ? For all which reasons he earnestly advised that the matter should not be brought before the public. None could answer, he maintained, what effect might be produced by the eloquence and popularity of the accused, and to his judgment the best method would be for her highness to come to an agreement with her noble subject in private ; after which he should be allowed to resume his attendance "with some addition of honour to take away discontent." On one of these occasions Elizabeth made a violent attack upon the dedication of Hayward's *Life of Henry IV.* to the earl, and imprisoned the author for the praise bestowed on him ; imagining that, as the book related to the deposition of Richard II., the object was to excite her subjects

to faction and sedition. "There is treason in the work," said she, "Mr Bacon, do you not see it?" "Nay, may it please your majesty," was the answer; "I see no treason, but very much felony; every second sentence is an impudent theft from Tacitus." "But Hayward is not the author," replied Elizabeth; "he hath had other assistance. I'll have him wrack'd to produce his writer,"—insinuating by this that it might be brought nearer to Essex. "Wrack him not, your highness," said Bacon,—"torture not the man but the matter; shut him up with no witnesses but pen, ink, and paper, and let him continue the story; and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge if he be the author or no." Another time Bacon alluded to the possibility of Essex being again sent to Ireland, when Elizabeth passionately interrupted him. "Essex! whensoever I send Essex back again into Ireland, I will marry you. Claim it of me." Bacon replied,—"Well, madam, I will release that contract, if his going be for the good of the state."

Meanwhile the fever, into which her harsh treatment had thrown the unfortunate earl, continued so violent that it brought him to the brink of the grave, and the queen appeared to have relented. But her resentment returned with his reviving health; and when he was able for it, it was determined to have him tried before the privy-council. The remainder of the story is well known. Weakened with disease and misfortune, the once potent favourite was received with studied indignity, and arraigned by Coke, the willing tool of his mistress's tyranny, with unusual bitterness. "At his coming in none of the commissioners stirred his cap, or gave any other sign of courtesy. He kneeled at the upper end of the table, and for a good while without a cushion. At length the archbishop moved the treasurer, and they jointly the lord-keeper and lord-admiral, who sat over against them; and then he was allowed a cushion, yet still was suffered to kneel, till the end of the queen's sergeant's speech, when, by the consent of the lords, he was permitted to stand up, and afterwards, upon the

archbishop's motion, to have a stool."* Under every disadvantage he made a noble defence; and nothing can be more affecting than the patience and gentleness with which he bore the envenomed accusations preferred against him. It is mortifying to find Bacon's name amongst those whom the queen commanded to conduct the prosecution; but however sincere in his wish to avert it, this great man was not of a temper, when the resolution was taken, to sacrifice his hopes of preferment to his affection for his friend. Cecil when called upon to deliver his opinion absolved the earl from all thoughts of disloyalty, and treated him with more courtesy than the rest of his judges; but he declared that the queen had presented to him the only way to save Ireland, and that his quitting that kingdom and refusal to adopt the queen's advice had been the only cause of the ruin of the royal army. There is every reason to believe that the fate of the prisoner had been determined before he entered the council-room. His sentence, as pronounced by the lord-keeper, was degradation from his station as a councillor of state, deprivation of his offices of earl-marshal of England and master of the ordnance, and imprisonment in his own house till her majesty's pleasure should be known."†

All trusted this sentence would satisfy the queen, and believed that they would soon see him restored, if not to his former power, at least to a share of her favour. But there is something in the conduct of Elizabeth throughout this whole affair, which proves that age had rendered her more tyrannical and revengeful, or that she was exposed to the constant influence of the secret enemies of the condemned lord. The earl had hitherto restrained the haughtiness of his temper; he had borne studied indignities not only with patience, but so humbly and sorrowfully, that it drew tears from many of the council. As he had been severely reduced by sickness he retired to the country, and calmly awaited the return

* Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 439, 440-447. † Ibid. p. 454.

of health, and some token of the queen's reviving kindness ; but none arrived. He addressed to herself, and to some of his friends at court, those pathetic letters which still remain models of natural eloquence. But no hopes of a mitigation were held out ; and when, as a criterion whether he was to entertain any expectation of mercy or to consider himself a broken man, he applied to have his patent of sweet wines renewed, it was contemptuously refused ; the queen observing, that "the unmanageable steed must yet be stinted in his provender." This last indignity produced a revulsion of feeling ; and in bitterness of heart that speech escaped him, which was reported to Elizabeth and never forgiven :—"The queen grows old ; her mind has become as crooked as her carcass." All circumspection was now thrown to the winds ; and Essex fell upon desperate courses, involving that wild scheme for the removal of his enemies and new-modelling the government, which hurried him to ruin. He placed himself at the head of the Puritans ; entered into a correspondence with the Scottish king, which there is a strong presumption that monarch revealed to Elizabeth ; denounced his own enemies to James as those who favoured the title of the Infanta of Spain ; made an insane attempt to raise the citizens of London and to seize upon the court ; and, after retreating to Essex House, was there arrested by the Earl of Nottingham and sent to the Tower.

It is unnecessary to pursue farther the well-known story of the trial and execution of this noble and unfortunate person, or to describe the pious resignation with which he met his death ; but it is well worthy of notice, as it appears by the examination of one of the principal conspirators with Essex, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, that they had determined to cut off Raleigh,—a circumstance which, proving the inveteracy of their rancour against him, accounts for the bitter and unforgiving spirit exhibited in the letter to Cecil already quoted. That document, as we have seen, advises that every effort should be used to prevent Essex from regaining his in-

fluence, "so that he should again decline into a common person." A late writer* has asserted that it proves him to have thirsted for the blood of the earl; but much as I have blamed him for the letter, it does not contain any expression which may not fairly be construed into a recommendation that he should be sequestered from power and liberty.

Essex, the great and powerful rival of Cecil and Raleigh, was now no more, and it is curious to examine the relative position of these two candidates for the favour of the queen, whom circumstances rather than any mutual love or confidence had thrown into the same party. At this moment Sir Walter stood so high in reputation, that the wary secretary might well begin to tremble for his own power. It has been stated, that "he was flattered by Cecil with moderate favours, and cajoled by splendid hopes." But the task of managing the House of Commons, the grant of the pre-emption of

* Mr Lodge, in his *Character of Raleigh*. Since writing this *Life*, I have met with the very interesting volume of Mr Jardine, being the first of a collection of *Criminal Trials*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and I am happy to find the opinion I had formed regarding this letter of Raleigh's confirmed by the following note:—"A letter from Raleigh to Cecil, published in Murdin's *State-papers*, p. 811, has been generally supposed to fix upon Raleigh's character the disgrace of having urged the execution of the Earl of Essex. The letter is without a date, except that it is indorsed 'Sir Walter Raleigh, 1601.' This indorsement was probably made some time after the letter was written, and must necessarily be a mistake; for as Essex was executed on the 25th of February 1600-1, no English writer at that time could have given the date of 1601 to a letter obviously written in the lifetime of Essex. There is nothing, therefore, to fix the date of the letter with certainty; nor is there any thing in its contents inconsistent with the supposition that it was written before the trial of Essex, and during his imprisonment and exclusion from court on his return from Ireland. Some of the expressions in the letter *may* refer to the earl's execution:—but not necessarily so; and others expressly refer to the restraint of his liberty, and the continuance of his disgrace. Upon the whole, we think it very doubtful whether the letter is not to be referred to an earlier period than that which is usually ascribed to it; and therefore that it furnishes no proof that Raleigh urged the execution of the Earl of Essex."—*Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 507.

Cornish tin, the post of ambassador to Flanders, and the government of Jersey, can scarcely come under the description of moderate favours; and if his hopes were splendid, he had every reason to believe that the kindness of his sovereign, assisted by his own uncommon abilities, would soon convert them into realities. Ambitious, proud, brave, and conscious of intellectual endowments, which in strength, readiness, and variety, excelled those of his competitor, he could not consent to act an inferior part, and accept that patronage which he imagined himself entitled rather to bestow. All this soon became apparent to Cecil, who concealed his consciousness of it under a veil of profound dissimulation. Undiverted from his great object by any variety of pursuits, this statesman had concentrated the whole strength of his mind upon the preservation of his power; and, more prospective in his plans than his ally, he anticipated the speedy death of the queen, and carefully sketched the outline of his subsequent intrigues. It was with this view that he had entered into that correspondence with her successor in which he laid the foundation of his future influence, and imparted to James's mind a prejudice against Raleigh, which undoubtedly proved the commencement of this great man's misfortunes.

From the moment, therefore, of Essex's death, however open and amicable the world might think them, there was a dangerous opposition between Raleigh and Cecil. Both were too powerful to continue long together in the management of affairs, both too proud to give way; their intercourse had by circumstances been driven into confidence before it had ripened into friendship; they knew too well each other's character and designs, and had arrived at that critical point in the intimacy of statesmen, when it became necessary for one to sacrifice his ambition to the other,—when they must be generous and open, or must pass in rapid succession through the degrees of coldness and suspicion till they arrive at absolute enmity. In watching the progress of these changes, and taking advantage of them, Raleigh was inferior to

Cecil, a master in the management of intrigue. In the mean time, there appeared nothing but cordiality between them; and whilst the secretary silently worked the meshes of the net in which his dangerous opponent was to meet his destruction, he permitted him to enjoy the sunshine of the court, and to rise daily in the graces of his royal mistress. These remarks, however, have led us slightly to anticipate the course of events; and we now resume our story.

During Essex's confinement, Sir Walter, having failed in his desire of being appointed one of the commissioners for settling the treaty of Boulogne between England, Spain, and the Archduke Albert, retired for some months to his residence at Sherborne. Accompanied by his family and the son of Secretary Cecil, a youth of great hopes, he there followed at leisure the tranquil studies and pursuits in which he so much delighted. Books, poetry, planting, gardening, and other rural amusements or occupations, filled up the hours borrowed from ambition; and it was probably at this time that some of those beautiful verses were written, of which the date is not certainly known. One of these, entitled the Country's Recreations, may challenge comparison with either Carew or Suckling:

“ Quivering fears, heart-tearing cares,
 Anxious sighs, untimely tears,
 Fly, fly to courts,
 Fly to fond worldlings' sports;
 Where strain'd sardonic smiles are glosing still,
 And Grief is forced to laugh against her will;
 Where mirth's but mummery,
 And sorrows only real be!

“ Fly from our country pastimes, fly,
 Sad troop of human misery!
 Come, serene looks,
 Clear as the crystal brooks,
 Or the pure azured heaven that smiles to see
 The rich attendance of our poverty.
 Peace and a secure mind,
 Which all men seek, we only find.

“ Abused mortals! did you know
 Where joy, heart's-ease, and comforts grow,

You'd scorn proud towers,
 And seek them in these bowers ;
 Where winds sometimes our woods perhaps may shake,
 But blustering care could never tempest make,
 Nor murmurs e'er come nigh us,
 Saving of fountains that glide by us."

The following comparison, between the masques and tournaments of the court and the harmless gambols of the sheepfold, presents a pastoral scene worthy of the pencil of Berghem :—

" Here's no fantastic masque, nor dance,
 But of our kids that frisk and prance :
 Nor wars are seen,
 Unless upon the green
 Two harmless lambs are butting one another,
 Which done, both bleating run, each to his mother ;
 And wounds are never found,
 Save what the ploughshare gives the ground.

" Here are no false entrapping baits,
 To hasten too too hasty fates ;
 Unless it be
 The fond credulity
 Of silly fish, which, worldling-like, still look
 Upon the bait, but never on the hook ;
 Nor envy, unless among
 The birds, for prize of their sweet song."

The transition from this description, which brings before us the contemplative angler plying his patient occupation and listening to the free birds carolling in their leafy chambers, to the transatlantic picture of the poor negro condemned to dive for gems and pearls, is conceived in the true spirit of poetry.

" Go ! let the diving negro seek
 For gems hid in some forlorn creek :
 We all pearls scorn,
 Save what the dewy morn
 Congeals upon each little spire of grass,
 Which careless shepherds beat down as they pass ;
 And gold ne'er here appears
 Save what the yellow Ceres bears."

And then let us listen to the serenity which breathes in the concluding stanza.

" Blest silent groves ! O may ye be
 For ever mirth's best nursery !
 May pure contents
 For ever pitch their tents

Upon these downs, these meads, these rocks, these mountains,
 And peace still slumber by these purling fountains,
 Which we may every year
 Find when we come a-fishing here."

Happy had it been for him who so sweetly describes such delights, had he really preferred them to the court where "strained sardonic smiles were glosing still!" But though endowed with a taste which enjoyed for a while the silent groves, the best nursery of mirth, and the fountains beside which rural peace passes a slumberous existence, ambition was his ruling passion; and probably the high zest with which he partook of these simple pleasures arose more from contrast than congeniality. After a few months spent at Sherborne, he was recalled to court to undertake, in company with Lord Cobham, a secret mission to Flanders. In Winwood's Memorials, Sir Henry Neville, one of Elizabeth's commissioners at Boulogne, in a letter dated 18th July, informs us that "Sir Walter Raleigh and my Lord Cobham are reported to have gone over upon pretence to see the camp and siege of Fort Isabella, near Ostend." The writer, however, conjectures that their errand had some relation to the proceedings of Prince Maurice, and afterwards informs us they carried a message which did no harm,—though Cecil concealed his diplomatic transactions with such care, that the nature of the embassy was then unknown, and cannot now be discovered.

On his return, Raleigh was promoted to the government of Jersey, a post apparently not incompatible with his attendance on the queen, during which, being captain of her guard, his communication with his royal mistress was frequent and intimate. Of his minute attention to her prevailing tastes in discharging the duties of his office, Aubrey has preserved a characteristic anecdote. "Queen Elizabeth loved to have all the servants of her court proper men; and, (as before said, Sir Walter Raleigh's graceful presence was no mean recommendation to him,) I think, his first preferment at court was captain of her majesty's guard. There came a country gentleman (a

sufficient yeoman) up to town, who had several sons, but one an extraordinary proper handsome fellow, whom he did hope to have preferred to be yeoman of the guard. The father (a goodly man himself) comes to Sir Walter Raleigh, a stranger to him, and told him that he had brought up a boy that he would desire (having many children) should be one of her majestie's guard. Quoth Sir Walter, 'Had you spake for yourself, I should readily have granted your desire, for your person deserves it; but I put in no boys.' Said the father, 'Boy, come in.' The son enters, about eighteen or nineteen, but such a goodly proper young fellow as Sir Walter had never seen the like; he was the tallest of all the guard. Sir Walter swears him immediately; and ordered him to carry up the first dish at dinner, where the queen beheld him with admiration, as if a beautiful young giant, like Saul, taller by the head and shoulders than other men, had stalked in with the service."*

Raleigh's magnificence in dress was carried to excess, probably as much to gratify Elizabeth, who had a passion for finery and loved to be surrounded by a brilliant court, as from personal predilection. He wore a suit of silver armour at the tournays, his sword-hilt and belt were studded with diamonds, pearls, and rubies, his court-dress on occasions of state was said to be covered with jewels to the value of £60,000, and even his shoes glittered with precious stones. It was in this splendid apparel that he waited on his royal mistress as captain of her guard during those visits to the houses of her nobility, known by the name of Progresses. In a work which professes to be something more than a mere biography, it may not be improper to make a short digression upon these magnificent tours, so strongly characteristic of the spirit and manners of the times.

It has been alleged against the queen, that such excursions impoverished the peerage; and, under the

* Aubrey's MS. in the Ashmolean Museum. Works, vol. viii. pp. 741, 742.

pretence of conferring an envied distinction, were really intended to check the overgrown wealth of the aristocracy, whilst they enriched the royal household. But this is considering the matter too deeply. Her object was in the first instance to become acquainted with her kingdom, to confirm and increase her popularity by travelling amongst her people, exhibiting her glory to them, accepting with condescension and delight their homage, and repaying it with offices of trust and emolument. When Cecil entertained her at Theobalds in 1591, it was in expectation of being promoted to the secretaryship, though he was then only gratified with the honour of knighthood. When the Earl of Hertford received his royal mistress at Elvetham, the magnificence he displayed was not thought by him too high a price to regain her favour, which had been long withdrawn. It was the age of solemn pageantry and splendid devices. Masques, triumphs, and dramatic exhibitions, in which there was a singular combination of Pagan imagery and mythology with Gothic romances, were the chief amusements of the period. The business, as Bishop Hurd has well described it, was to welcome the queen to the palaces of her nobles, and at the same time to celebrate the glory of her government; and what more elegant way of complimenting a great prince than through the veil of fiction, or how could they better entertain a learned one than by having recourse to the old poetical story? Nor are the masque-makers to be lightly censured for intermixing classical fable with Gothic fancies,—a practice sanctioned by the authority of Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton, and often accomplished with much grace and ingenuity. Elizabeth was in no usual degree acquainted with the writers of Greece and Rome, and well able to appreciate such allusions. She took delight in music, and loved the studied magnificence of those pageants, their intricate mechanism, their lofty conceits, and the incense of high-flown adulation addressed to her. Marlowe's excellent description of the fondness of Edward II. for such exhibitions might with equal propriety be applied to this princess.

“ Music and poetry are her delight,
 Therefore I'll have Italian masques by night,
 Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows ;
 And, in the day, when she shall walk abroad,
 Like sylvan nymphs my pages shall be clad,
 My men like satyrs, gazing on the lawns,
 Shall with their goat-feet dance the antic hay.
 Sometimes a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
 With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
 Crownets of pearl about his naked arms,
 And in his sportful hands an olive-tree,
 Shall bathe him in a spring ; and there, hard by,
 One like Actæon peeping through the grove
 Shall by the angry goddess be transformed,—
 Such things as these best please her majesty.”*

The taste of the gravest men of the times gave a countenance to such pastimes. Sir Thomas More did not think it beneath him to compose pageants ; and a letter of Lord Bacon is preserved, in which this philosopher appears as the representative of a dozen young gentlemen of Gray's Inn, who declare their willingness to furnish a masque, since the proposal of a joint one by the four inns of court had failed. Some idea of the magnificence of the presents made on such occasions may be formed from an account in the Sidney Letters of the queen's dining at Kew, the seat of Sir John Puckering, lord-keeper. “ Her entertainment for that meal was great and exceeding costly. At her first lighting, she had a fine fanne with a handle garnished with diamonds. When she was in the middle way between the garden-gate and the house, there came running towards her one with a nosegay in his hand, and delivered it unto her, with a short well-penned speech : it had in it a very rich jewel, with many pendants of unfired diamonds, valued at £400 at least. After dinner, in her privy-chamber, he gave her a fair pair of virginals. In her bed-chamber, presented her with a fine gown and a juppin, which things were pleasing to her highness ; and, to grace his lordship the more, she, of herself, took from him a salt, a spoon, and a fork, of fair agate.”†

* Marlowe's Edward II. Nichol's Progresses, Preface, p. 15.

† Sidney Letters, vol. i. p. 376.

During her reign she visited Secretary Cecil at Theobalds twelve times : each of these royal favours cost him from £2000 to £3000 ; nor did she hesitate to remain a month or six weeks, receiving strangers and ambassadors, and entertained as bountifully as if she had been in one of her own palaces.

In her early years the queen had devoted much time to study. She was deeply read in classical literature, as well as in the romances of her own age ; and her excessive vanity delighted to display itself in quoting Greek, extemporizing in Latin, and replying to the foreign knight, the far-travelled pilgrim, or the Graces and goddesses of the pageant, in the same language used in addressing her. It was the wish to afford Elizabeth an opportunity of evincing her erudition that gave rise to the uncouth mixture of dead and living languages which distinguishes the masque of the period ; to the hermits who discourse in Latin, and the Cupids who chatter in French and Spanish, and the noble knights or ermined sages who pour out at such interminable length their hexameters and pentameters ; as well as to the far-fetched allegories, abstruse classical allusions, and mythological devices so constantly introduced.

In all the qualifications which fitted him to judge of a masque or to take part in its performance, Raleigh yielded to no one at court. A scholar, a poet, a universal reader, possessing a noble person, rich in his attire, an eloquent speaker, far-travelled both by land and sea, having an imagination fraught with the wonders of the New World and the wisdom of the Old, scarcely any subject, character, or sentiment, could be introduced which, if he was a spectator, he could not illustrate by his powers of conversation, or to which he could not impart new life, strength, and spirit as an actor. As the queen in her progresses was attended by the yeomen of her guard, his office of captain kept him near her person ; and availing himself of these opportunities, he rose into greater favour during the last years of her life than at any former period. Some months after the death of Essex, Lord Herbert

married Mrs Anne Russel, on which occasion there were great rejoicings, the queen honouring the solemnity with her presence. Of these the Sidney Letters give an account which, in its own antique language, will present a better picture of the times than if diluted into a more modern style. “ Her majesty is in very good health, and purposes to honour Mrs Anne Russel’s marriage with her presence. * * My Lord Cobham prepares his house for her majesty to lie in, because it is near the bride house. There is to be a memorable masque of eight ladies, and they have a strange dance newly invented. Their attire is this:—Each hath a skirt of cloth of silver, a rich waistcoat wrought with silks, and gold and silver, a mantle of carnation-taffeta cast under the arm, and their hair loose about their shoulders, curiously knotted and interlaced. These are the masquers:—My Lady Doritye, Mrs Fitton, Mrs Carey, Mrs Onslow, Mrs Southwell, Mrs Bess Russel, Mrs Darcy, and my Lady Blanche Somersett. Those eight dance to the music Apollo brings; and there is a fine speech that makes mention of a ninth, much to her honour and praise. The preparation for this feast is sumptuous and great; but it is feared that the house in Blackfriars will be too little for such a company.” The apprehensions which distracted the hospitable heart of Lady Russel, and no doubt shook the nerves of the fair masquers, were destined to vanish; and the entertainment, as we learn from a subsequent letter, passed off admirably. “ This day se’ennight [June 16th] her majesty was at Blackfriars to grace the marriage of the Lord Herbert and his wife. The bride met the queen at the water side, where my Lord Cobham had provided a *lectica*, made like half a litter, wherein she was carried to my Lady Russel’s by six knights. Her majesty dined there, and at night went through Dr Puddin’s house (who gave the queen a fan), to my Lord Cobham’s, where she supped. After supper the masque came in, as I writ in my last; and delicate it was, to see eight ladies so prettily and richly attired. Mrs Fitton led; and after they had done all their own ceremonies,

these eight lady masquers chose eight ladies more to dance the measures. Mrs Fitton went to the queen, and wooed her to dance. Her majesty asked what she was. 'Affection,' she said. 'Affection!' said the queen, 'Affection is false.' Yet her majesty rose and danced; so did my Lady Marquis of Winchester. The bride was led to the church by the Lord Herbert of Cardiff and my Lord Cobham, and from the church by the Earls of Rutland and Cumberland. The gifts given that day were valued at £1000 in plate and jewels at least." After the marriage Elizabeth returned to court, and thence, attended by a splendid retinue, proceeded on her progress.

On this occasion Sir Walter accompanied the queen. During August and September her majesty was at Oatlands. "The court," says Rowland Whyte, "is now given to hunting and sports. Upon Thursday her majesty dines and hunts at Hanworth Park; upon Tuesday she dines at Mr Drake's, and this day she hunts in the New Lodge in the Forest." In September, the same minute recorder of manners declares that his mistress is "excellently disposed to hunting, for every second day she is on horseback, and continues the sport long. * * Mrs Mary, upon St Stephen's day in the afternoon, danced before the queen two gullards, with one Mr Palmer, the admirablest dancer of this time." The exhibition was attended with a remarkable display of Elizabeth's ruling passion. She was then in her sixty-ninth year; yet the sight of Mrs Mary executing a *gullard* with the inimitable Palmer wounded her vanity, and awoke her desire of admiration. "Both were much commended by her majesty; then she danced with him a *coranto*." The gullard probably required considerable agility, whilst the other, a slower movement like the modern minuet, was better adapted to the subdued saltatory powers of the royal performer.

In September 1600, the Duke de Biron, marshal of France, with a splendid retinue of twenty noblemen and nearly 400 attendants, arrived on an embassy from Henry

IV., when the queen was still continuing her progress. When he disembarked, her majesty was in Hampshire, at Basing, a seat of the Marquis of Hertford, where she "took such great content" that she staid thirteen days. In the mean time the Sheriff of the shire was commanded to conduct the French duke with his train to the Vine, "a fair and large house of the Lord Sandys," which had been furnished with hangings and plate from the Tower, and provided with seven score beds and furniture, contributed by the gentry of the county of Southampton. Here he abode four or five days, being entertained at the public expense; and during this time her majesty went to visit him at the Vine, and he paid his respects to her at Basing.

The first interview presents a trait in which the pride and dignity of the sovereign is amusingly mingled with the coquetry of the woman. The scene took place in the open air, in the park where Biron had gone to attend the queen in her hunting. "When she came to the place where the duke staid," says the faithful historian of her progress, "the sheriff, being bareheaded and riding next before her, stayed his horse, thinking the queen would then have saluted the duke; whereat the queen being much offended, commanded the sheriff to go on. The duke followed her very humbly, bowing low towards his horse's mane, with his cap off, about twenty yards; her majesty on the sudden took off her mask, looked back upon him, and most graciously and courteously saluted him; as holding it not beseeing so mighty a prince as she was, and who so well knew all kingly majesty, to make her stay directly against a subject, before he had showed his obedience in following after her."* A French historian, in his account of this celebrated embassy, indulges a taste for a singular species of embellishment by informing us that Elizabeth favoured the duke with a sight of the skull of Essex, which she kept in her closet;—a story as false as it is ridiculous, and

* Nichol's Progresses, vol. ii. Queen's Progress in 1601.

confuted by the fact that the earl's head was buried with his body.* So much was she delighted with her stay at Basing, that at her departure she made ten knights,—the greatest number ever created at one time during her reign,—and amongst these Sir Walter had the pleasure to see included his brother Carew Raleigh.

* Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.



CHAPTER V.

From Elizabeth's last Parliament to the Trial of Raleigh.

Elizabeth opens her last Parliament—Raleigh returned a Member—His Conduct in Parliament—Opposes the Bill making it compulsory to sow Hemp—Debate on voting a Subsidy—Subserviency of Cecil and Bacon—Raleigh's Reply to their Speeches—Great Debate on Monopolies—Singular Speech of Secretary Cecil—His Condemnation of all Discussion without the Walls of Parliament—Pirates of Dunkirk—Debate on the Transport of Ordnance without the Kingdom—Raleigh's excellent Observations upon this Subject—Debates on the Statute of Tillage—Raleigh argues for the Removal of all Restrictions on Agriculture—Evident Decay of the Intimacy between Cecil and Raleigh—Amusing Parliamentary Anecdote—A "No" pulled out by the Sleeve—Style of Parliamentary Speaking—Elizabeth's last Speech to the Deputation of the House of Commons—Raleigh sells his Irish Estate to the Earl of Cork—Character of this remarkable Man—Last Illness of Elizabeth—Her Death—Accession of James—Raleigh treated with Coldness and Neglect—Contrast between the Character of the King and that of Raleigh—Cecil's secret Correspondence with James—He is appointed his Secretary and Prime Minister—Raleigh deprived of his Office of Captain of the King's Guard, and of his Patent of Wines—Involved in an Accusation of Treason—History of this mysterious Transaction—Raleigh's Trial—Observations upon it—The whole Conspiracy regarding Arabella Stewart a Fiction—The Plot against Raleigh to be traced to Secretary Cecil.

SOME time after returning from her progress, Elizabeth, who began to feel the approaches of that disease which put a period to her long and glorious reign, opened, on the 27th October, her last parliament, in which Raleigh

sat as one of the knights for Cornwall. The session was occupied by many important matters ; and Sir Walter's speeches, which have been preserved at considerable length in the journals of the house, are remarkable for an originality and freedom of thought much in advance of the times. An attempt having been made by government to introduce a bill to compel husbandmen to sow a certain portion of hemp, Raleigh opposed it on the ground of its retarding agricultural improvement. "For my part," said he, "I do not like this constraining of men to manure, or use their grounds at our wills ; but rather, let every man use his ground to that which it is most fit for, and therein use his own discretion. For halsars, cables, cordage, and the like, we have plentifully enough from foreign nations ; and we have divers counties here in England make thereof in great abundance ; and the bill of tillage may be a sufficient motive to us in this case, not to take the course that this bill intendeth." Mr Comptroller replied and maintained the necessity of the measure ; but on a division the proposal was rejected.*

Upon a subsidy being moved in a committee, a debate ensued, in which the principal speakers were Raleigh, Cecil, Sergeant Hale, and Mr Francis Bacon, still a commoner. Raleigh entreated them to remember that in the last parliament only three subsidies were granted upon an alarm that the Spaniards were coming. But now, as they had actually set foot in the queen's territories, the case required immediate attention ; especially as her majesty had parted with her jewels, borrowed great sums which were unpaid, sold her lands, abridged her apparel and expenses, and was therefore obliged to call upon parliament for assistance. "I wish," said he, "for my own part, as a particular member of this commonwealth, that we may not do less than we did before ; and that we also would bountifully, according to our estates, contribute to her majesty's necessities, as now they stand."

* Townshend's Historical Collections, p. 183.

This appeared to meet the feelings of the house ; but on the manner of raising the subsidy arose a difference of opinion ; and Sir Walter opposed with great freedom the somewhat slavish principles of Cecil and Bacon. It was moved by Sir Francis Hastings, that the three-pound men should be exempted ; but the secretary contended that separation might breed emulation, and suspicion of partiality. Sergeant Hale marvelled much that the house demurred upon the subject, “ when,” said he, “ all we have is her majesty’s, and she may lawfully at her pleasure take it from us ; yea, she hath as much right to all our lands and goods as to any revenue of her crown.” At this the house hummed and laughed. “ Well,” said the subservient orator, in the words used by Townshend, “ all your humming shall not put me out of countenance ;” and so he told them he could prove his former position in the time of Henry III., King John, King Stephen, &c., at which the house was louder than before, till they hummed the sergeant into his seat. Upon this Cecil launched out and carried the matter very high, observing, that “ neither pots nor pans, nor dish nor spoon, should be spared when danger is at our elbows. * * But by no means I would have the three-pound men exempted ; because I would have the King of Spain know how willing we are to sell all in defence of God’s religion, our prince, and country.” Mr Francis Bacon then spoke, and concluded by observing, that when all contributed alike it was “ *dulcis tractus pari jugo.*” To these obsequious statesmen Raleigh answered, “ I like it not that the Spaniards our enemies should know of our selling our pots and pans to pay subsidies. Well may you call it policy, as an honourable person alleged ; but I am sure it argues poverty in the state. And for the motion that was last made, *dulcis tractus pari jugo* : call you this *par jugum* when a poor man pays as much as a rich, and peradventure his estate is no better than it is set at, or but little better, when our estates that are three or four pounds in the queen’s books, it is not the hundredth part of our wealth ? Therefore it is neither *dulcis* nor *par.*”

Another great question argued in this parliament touched Sir Walter more nearly,—that of the mischiefs produced by the “monstrous and unconscionable monopolies of starch, tin, fish, cloth, and other necessaries of life.” As Lord Warden of the Stanneries he enjoyed a monopoly of the second article ; but he defended himself successfully, though with some heat. He showed that, being one of the principal commodities in the kingdom, and the product of Cornwall, it had in ancient times belonged to the dukes of that county by special patents, and had now been granted to him. No one, however, could affirm, that the monopoly pressed hard upon the poor, so long as it was known that the workmen formerly could never earn more than two shillings a-week, however high was the demand, whereas now every labourer willing to work was certain of employment, and had four shillings a-week truly paid, whatever might be the price of tin. At the same time Raleigh professed his willingness to vote for its repeal, provided the house agreed that all the rest should fall along with it.

The queen, having been informed of the universal discontent on account of these grievances, and the distress which they occasioned amongst the poorer classes, directed the speaker to inform the house that she would take immediate steps for their removal. This he did, and then requested some one of the ministers, who had been present at the interview, and had a better memory than himself, to detail it ; upon which Cecil delivered a speech, the peroration of which is a curiosity in the annals of parliament. After explaining that it was not the rich man, but the desolate widow, the simple cottager, the poor and ignorant husbandman, who groaned under the oppression, he proceeds :—“ I say, therefore, there shall be a proclamation granted through the realm, to notify her majesty’s resolution in this behalf. And because you may eat your meats more savourily than you have done ; every man shall have salt as cheap as he can buy it or make it, freely without danger of that patent, which shall be presently revoked. The same benefit shall they have which have cold

stomachs, both for aquavitæ and the like : and they which have weak stomachs, shall have vinegar and aleagar set at liberty. Train oil shall go the same way ; oil of blubber shall march in the same rank ; brushes and bottles endure the like judgment ; the patent for pouldavy,* if it be not called in, it shall be. * * *

Those that desire to go sprucely in their ruffs, may, with less charge than accustomed, obtain their wish ; for starch, which hath so much been prosecuted, shall now be repealed.”† The learned secretary concluded with a caution which in these days appears strange to our ears. This repeal of the monopolies so deeply interested the nation, that the subject had been canvassed without the walls of parliament ; and against this abuse Cecil raises his voice. “ I must needs give you this for a future caution : that whatsoever is subject to a public expectation cannot be good. Why, parliament matters are ordinarily talked of in the streets. I have heard myself, being in my coach, these words spoken aloud : ‘ God prosper those that further the overthrow of these monopolies !’ ‘ God send the prerogative touch not our liberty !’ I will not wrong any so much as to imagine he was of this house ; yet let me give you this note : that the time was never more apt to disorder, or make ill interpretations of good meanings. I think those persons would be glad that all sovereignty were converted into popularity.”‡

Another subject on which the superior knowledge of Raleigh came out with effect, was the best means of suppressing the pirates of Dunkirk. For this end it had been proposed to restrain the exportation of ordnance then carried on by patent, and which had raised the queen’s duties to £3000 a-year. This profit, it was contended, in nowise balanced the inconveniences ; for in Spain cannon were now so plenty as to be sold for seven ducats a-hundredweight. On this point Sir Walter spoke with great spirit. “ I am sure,” said he, “ heretofore one ship of her majesty’s was able to beat twenty Spaniards ; but now, by reason of our own ordnance, we are hardly

* Sailcloth. † Townshend’s Coll., p. 250. ‡ Ibid. 251.

matched one to one. And if the Low Countries should either be subdued by the Spaniard, or yield unto him upon a conditional peace, or shall join in amity with the French, as we see them daily inclining, I say there is nothing so much threatens the conquest of this kingdom, or more, than the transportation of ordnance.”*

The bill at this time was thrown out; but Raleigh did not lose sight of the subject, which appeared to him to be one of the first importance. In his Discourse upon a War with Spain, and the protection of the Netherlands, written not long after, he points out to King James, in the strongest terms, the great diminution of national strength which had been the consequence of exporting ordnance. “Now-a-days,” says he, “the Netherlands have as many ships of their own as any Christian prince hath; their ships are of one fashion, conduct, and swiftness; their mariners of their own nation and language, valiant and well-ordered men; and so near us, as they will be in our ports in the course of a summer’s day.” To this it might possibly be objected, he observes, that during the wars of Henry VIII. with Charles V., who then possessed the Low Countries, their largest ships did no prejudice to England. But the reason was to be found in their inferior strength:—“I myself,” says he, “remember, that within these thirty years two of her majesty’s ships would have commanded 100 sail of theirs. I remember also, when myself was a captain in Ireland, that 100 foot and 100 horse would have beaten all the force of the strongest provinces. But of late, I have known an Easterling fight hand to hand with one of her majesty’s ships; and that the Irish have, in this last war, been overthrown with an even, or a far less number. The Netherlands, in those days, had wooden guns, and the Irish had darts; but the one is now furnished with as great a number of English ordnance as ourselves, and the other with as good pikes and muskets as England hath.”†

* Townshend’s Collections, p. 293.

† Discourse touching a War with Spain. Miscellaneous Works, vol. viii. pp. 304, 305.

Keen debates again took place in this parliament regarding the statute of tillage; and it is curious to observe the prospective sagacity of Raleigh, who spoke for the removal of all restrictions. "I think this law," said he, "fit to be repealed; for many poor men are not able to find seed to sow so much ground as they are bound to plough, which they must do, or incur the penalty of the statute. Besides, all nations abound with corn. France offered the queen to serve Ireland with corn at sixteen shillings a-quarter, which is but two shillings a-bushel; if we should sell it so here, the ploughman would be beggared. The Low Country man and the Hollander, who never sow corn, have by their industry such plenty, that they will serve other nations. The Spaniard, that often wanteth corn, had we never so much plenty, would never be beholden to the Englishman for it, neither to the Low Country man, nor to France, but will fetch it even of the very barbarian. And that which the barbarian hath been suing for these two hundred years,—I mean for traffic of corn into Spain,—this king in policy hath set at liberty of himself, because he will not be beholden unto other nations. And therefore I think the best course is, to set it at liberty, and leave every man free; which is the desire of a true Englishman."* These views were vehemently opposed by Cecil, upon the ground that the bill was for the support and benefit of the ploughmen. "If we debar tillage," said he, "we give scope to the depopulator; and then if the poor, being thrust out of their houses, go to dwell with others, straight we catch them with the statute of inmates. If they wander abroad and be stubborn, they are within the danger of the statute of rogues. If they be more humble and urgent beggars, then they are within the statute of the poor to be whipt or tormented. So by this means, undo this statute, and you endanger many thousands. *Posterior dies discipulus prioris.*" His arguments, however, prevailed, and the bill rendering tillage compulsory was continued in force.

* Townshend's Collections, p. 299.

Upon other subjects Raleigh delivered his opinion with equal freedom and knowledge ; and he not only often opposed the ministerial measures, but on more than one occasion there was an evident rivalry between him and Cecil, which perhaps indicated the decay of their confidence. In the confusion which took place in voting on the bill to enforce the diligent repairing to church, it was directed that the Ayes should go out of the house ; and a gentleman complained that one of them when going out had been pulled back by the sleeve ; upon which Raleigh observed, " Why, if it please you, it is a small matter to pull one by the sleeve, for so have I done myself oftentimes." This remark, intended as a piece of humour, was magnified by the comptroller into a grievous offence : " And for the other gentleman," observed he, referring to Raleigh, " that said he had often done the like, I think he may be ashamed of it ; for large is his conscience, that in a matter of this consequence will be drawn either forward or backward by the sleeve." This absurd speech was echoed by the secretary, who was pleased to give it as his opinion, that the offence committed by any who pulled another member by the sleeve was great and punishable. " And this," said he, " I wish may be inflicted on him ; that he whose voice may be drawn either forward or backward by the sleeves, like a dog in a string, may no more be of this house ; and I wish for his credit's sake he would not."* These attacks Sir Walter heard in silence, aware that their futility and injustice were palpable to all. Neither did such accusations proceed with peculiarly good grace from Cecil, whose own " voice" was not very difficult to be pulled by the sleeve, whenever the queen chose to stretch out her hand, intimating her royal pleasure. Townshend concludes his account of the discussion with this quaint note :—" There was another gentleman (a No) pulled out, as well as the other was kept in ; and, therefore, it had happened even as before : howsoever Mr Edward Johns and Mr Barker pulled Mr Lionel Duckett out."†

* Townshend's Collections, pp. 321, 322.

† Ibid.

It is interesting to compare the manner of debate in this parliament with the usages of the present day. The style of speaking is brief and epigrammatic,—and on some occasions the dialogue becomes as spirited as a scene in a comedy. Let us, for example, look to the deliberations on the first reading of the bill to prevent double payment of debts, as reported by Townshend, who was at that time in the house. The subject was, the abuses of merchants' books in bringing up *long bills*,—a matter to which every senator seemed feelingly alive. The agitation of the first member who rose entirely overcame his powers of utterance. “Mr Zacharias Locke,” says Townshend, “began to speak ; but for very fear shook, so that he could not proceed, but stood still awhile, and at length sat down.” Mr Francis Bacon next observed, that “the merchants' books were springing books ; every year they would increase.”—Mr Sergeant Harris said, evidently arguing under the irritation of personal experience, “These merchants' books are like Aaron's rod, always budding ; and like Basingstock reckonings, overnight five shillings sixpence,—if you pay it not, it is grown in the morning to a just noble. This debt is a sleeping debt, and it will lull young gentlemen into merchant books, with the golden hooks of being trusted. * * * These are matters dangerous, and, I think, hurtful.” Upon this Mr Thomas Jones rose, and delivered an oration which reminds us of the proverbial responses of Sancho Panza. “It is now,” said he, “my chance to speak something, and that without humming or hawing. I think this law is a good law. Even reckoning makes long friends ; as far goes the penny as the penny's master. *Vigilantibus non dormientibus jura subveniunt*. Pay the reckoning overnight and you shall not be troubled in the morning. If ready money be *mensura publica*, let every man cut his coat according to his cloth. When his old suit is in the wane, let him stay till that his money bring a new suit in the increase. Therefore I think the law to be good, and I wish it a good passage.” Mr Hackwell, of Lincoln's Inn, next

presented himself; his exordium is amusing: "I am a man of that rank and condition [it is evident he was an artificer, grown rich on the very abuse complained of], that I never sell, and seldom buy, and pay ready money; and the safest course this bill offers to me for my particular; but the great mischief that will redound by it to the commons is that which makes me speak. * * This bill hath a good face but an ill body. * * If I may pray you to put on a great deal of patience for a little time, I will make it somewhat plain."* We shall not, however, inflict upon our reader Mr Hackwell's exposition, which does not possess even the moderate perspicuity he claims for it.

The abolition of monopolies by the queen gave so much satisfaction, that the house appointed the speaker, with a large deputation, to wait upon her and express the inestimable joy and comfort which they had received from her gracious message. She received them in the great chamber before the council-room, and the speaker, walking in at the head of seven score members, declared their determination to spend every drop of blood in their hearts, and the last spirit of breath in their nostrils, to be poured out and breathed up for the safety of their sovereign. Elizabeth's reply was her farewell public address to parliament, and the conclusion is striking and characteristic of this great princess: "I do assure you, there is no prince that loveth his subjects better, or whose love can countervail our love. * * And though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes me that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a queen, as to be a queen over so thankful a people. To be a king and wear a crown is a thing more glorious to them that see it, than it is pleasant to them that bear it. For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a king, or royal authority of a queen, as delighted that God had made me

* Townshend, pp. 282, 283.

his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom from peril, dishonour, tyranny, and oppression. There will never queen sit in my seat, with more zeal to my country, care for my subjects, and that sooner with willingness will venture her life for your good and safety than myself. For it is not my desire to live nor reign longer than my life and reign shall be for your good. And though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this state, yet you never had, nor shall have, any that will be more careful and loving. Shall I ascribe any thing to myself and my sexly weakness? I were not worthy to live then; and of all, most unworthy of the great mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me a heart which never yet feared foreign or home enemy. I speak it to give God the praise, as a testimony before you, and not to attribute any thing to myself. For I, O Lord, what am I, whom practices and perils past should not fear? Or, what can I do? [‘These words she spake,’ says Townshend, ‘with a great emphasis.’] That I should speak for any glory, God forbid.”*

It was not long after this that Raleigh sold his estates in Ireland to Mr Richard Boyle, afterwards the great Earl of Cork, who had been sent from that country by Sir George Carew with a message to the queen and a letter to his kinsman, strongly advising him to dispose of his land to so good a purchaser. It is asserted by Boyle, in the Memoirs of his own life, that these extensive tracts of country, of which he had become proprietor, were in many places in a barren condition; and from Sir Walter’s constant employment in England, it was scarcely to be expected that he could personally devote much time to their improvement. Yet it is a remarkable point about this eminent man, that wherever he had settled, or his influence extended even for a short period, he has left some traces of his usefulness and activity. At Youghall, in the county of Cork, of which town he was

* Townshend, pp. 263, 266.

mayor, and where his house and gardens are still seen, the first potatoes ever planted in Ireland were introduced by Raleigh, who had brought them from Virginia; and he is also said to have been the first propagator of the cherry in that island, which was imported by him from the Canaries. At Lismore, which formed part of the extensive grant made to him by Elizabeth, we find a still more interesting memorial in a Free School which he founded; and the large and beautiful myrtles in his garden at Youghall, some of them twenty feet high, are associated with that love of shrubs and sweet-smelling plants, and that elegance of taste in his rural occupations, which remarkably distinguished him.* His Irish estates, however, cost him so large an annual sum to keep them up, that he did not think it prudent to retain them. He accordingly closed with the offer of Boyle; and the person who managed the bargain was Sir Robert Cecil,—a proof that Raleigh was not yet fully aware of the secret arts already employed to undermine his power.

He was now about to lose his best friend. Early in January 1602, the queen, who for some time had been in a declining state, was seized with a severe cold. She had been forewarned by Dr Dee, the famous astrologer and mathematician, whom she highly esteemed, to beware of Whitehall, and accordingly removed to Richmond, calling it the “warm box to which she could best trust her sickly old age.” The air of the country seemed to revive her, and for some weeks her health improved; but the malady returned in the end of February, and on the 15th of March she was so ill that the lords of council were sent for. They found her sunk in a deep melancholy, in which no entreaties could persuade her to take food or medicine. At this sad moment Sir Robert Carey, her warden on the borders, to whom she was much attached, arrived; and, though very weak, the queen requested to see him. “I found her,” says he, in his Memoirs, “in one of her withdrawing chambers sitting

* Smith's History of Cork, vol. i. p. 128. Croker's Researches in the South of Ireland, pp. 124, 127, 152.

low upon her cushions. She called me to her ; I kist her hand, and told her it was my chiefest happiness to see her in safety and in health, which I wished might long continue. She took me by the hand and wrung it hard, and said, ‘ No, Robin ; I am not well ;’ and then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days, and in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs. * * I used the best words I could to persuade her from this melancholy humour, but I found by her it was too deep rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed.”*

She soon became obstinately silent ; and not only rejected nourishment, but forbore her sleep, refusing to go to bed, being persuaded if she once lay down, she should never rise again. The cushions were laid on the floor of her chamber ; and there she sat a week, day and night, showing an utter carelessness of all that was passing around her. On the 23d of March, the day before she died, the chief members of her council thought it right to introduce that subject to which the queen had invariably shown a great aversion, the succession to the throne ; and their interrogations brought out from the expiring princess a flash of her wonted spirit and severity : —“ I told you,” said she to the lord-high-admiral, who occupied the right side of the bed, whilst Cecil stood at the foot, “ that my seat had been the seat of kings ; and I will have no rascal to succeed me ! Trouble me no more.—He who comes after me must be a king. I will have none but our cousin of Scotland.”†

Soon after this she became speechless, but made signs that her chaplains and the Archbishop of Canterbury should pray with her. Sir Robert Carey, who went into the chamber with them, has left us an affecting account of her behaviour. “ I sat upon my knees,” says

* Nichol’s Progresses, vol. ii.

† Character of Elizabeth, by Edward Bohun. Nichol’s Progresses, vol. ii. Queen’s last Sickness and Death, Cotton MS. Titus, c. vii. fol. 46, printed in Nichol’s Progresses, vol. ii.

he, " full of tears to see that heavy sight. The bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her first of her faith ; and she so punctually answered all his several questions by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand, as it was a comfort to all the beholders. Then the good man told her plainly what she was, and what she was to come to ; and though she had been long a great queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the King of kings. After this he began to pray, and all that were by did answer him. After he had continued long in prayer, 'till the old man's knees were weary, he blessed her, and meant to rise and leave her. The queen made a sign with her hand. My sister Scroope, knowing her meaning, told the bishop the queen desired he would pray still. He did so for a long half hour after, and then thought to leave her. The second time she made a sign to have him continue in prayer. He did so for half an hour more, with earnest cries to God for her soul's health, which he uttered with that fervency of spirit, as the queen to all our sight much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her christian and comfortable end. By this time it grew late, and every one departed, all but her women that attended her."* She expired about three in the morning on Thursday the 24th of March, in the same chamber where her grandfather Henry VII. breathed his last.

Carey, whose affection was balanced by a considerable share of worldly wisdom, now slipped out of the palace, and took horse for Scotland. Riding post, he arrived at Edinburgh on Saturday night, and proceeding to the palace of Holyrood, found that the king had gone to bed. His errand, however, gained him instant admittance ; and, kneeling by the bedside, he saluted James King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. The happy monarch gave the messenger his hand to kiss, and after making many inquiries regarding the queen's sickness, asked what letters he brought from the council.

* Nichol's Progresses, vol. ii.

He answered none, and explained with what difficulty he had escaped being detained ; but added, that he had brought a blue ring from a fair lady to assure him of the truth of his intelligence. On presenting this, the king replied, " It is enough. I know by this you are a true messenger."*

King James's magnificent progress to his new dominions, and the unanimity of affection and loyalty with which he was received, are well known. It would perhaps have been better for Raleigh had he accommodated himself to the character of the Scottish sovereign ; though even this prudence might have failed ; for the king's mind had been artfully prejudiced against him. His fortunes now experienced a reverse ; and that royal sunshine which he had enjoyed under Elizabeth was exchanged, even at the very commencement of the reign of her successor, for coldness, suspicion, and neglect.

That we are to trace a great portion of James's conduct to the early dislike of Raleigh insinuated by Essex, and latterly by Cecil, cannot be doubted. But much is also to be ascribed to the strong contrast between the character of the king and the eminent man upon whom he now looked with distrust. James was pacific even to timidity. The other, who had been bred in the lap of war, entertained a strong feeling for the martial glory of England. He was actuated, besides, by a jealousy of Spain, being convinced of the necessity of keeping under that proud power, and preserving the ascendancy created by the energy and arms of Elizabeth. Here, at the outset, was an obvious cause of disunion. Again, Raleigh's mind was full of ambition for foreign adventure and discovery ; James was jealous of every thing that interrupted his repose, or drove him into action. The former thought England ought to divide with Spain the rich provinces of the New World ; the latter could have listened to any scheme for supplying his exchequer, provided it involved neither danger nor enterprise.

* Nichol's Progresses, vol. ii. See Carey's Memoirs.

Raleigh's policy was animated by the principle since so fully developed, that the strength of Britain rests in her ships and sailors ; James, from the moment he came to the crown, showed no pride in the naval glory of the country, nor had he the penetration to perceive that attention to the resources of war is the best method of securing the continuance of peace. Even literature,—the tie which we might expect would have produced a sympathy between Sir Walter and his new sovereign,—was insufficient, and, indeed, did not form an exception to this intellectual contrast. The learning of James was various, but pedantic, superficial, and full of pretension. He talked like a cloistered schoolman ; and his inordinate vanity mistook the syllogistic exhibitions with which he astonished the council-table for the deepest wisdom of state. For such displays, we may believe, Raleigh did not at all times conceal his contempt. His erudition was as various as that of his royal master, but it was eminently practical and deep. His philosophy was that of observation and experience. With eyes ever intent upon human character and the course of events in Europe, he had elicited the maxims of his policy from the actual condition of society. He was a scholar, but no schoolman ; a versifier like his royal master, but unlike him he was touched with the inspiration of true genius ; no cold and correct fabricator of sonnets, which, like the essays of the Royal Prentise, possessing every requisite of rhyme and quantity, were yet jejune and unpoetical. He knew, on the contrary, what poetry ought to be, and in his lighter hours he had swept the lyre with no unpractised fingers. His prose partook of the character of his mind,—original, vigorous, and imaginative.

Between two such modes of learning there could be no congenial feeling, but rather a repulsion ; and yet, if Raleigh had paid his court with his usual care and discrimination, this discrepancy might have been concealed. To whatever cause we are to attribute it, there can be no doubt that the monarch disliked Sir Walter ; and the rivalry between him and Cecil also, which for some time

had been smouldering under apparent courtesy, broke out soon after the accession of James into active and declared hostility. This crafty politician possessed the power as well as the inclination to hurt him. He had carried on a secret correspondence with the king before the death of Elizabeth, by which he was enabled to create prepossessions against those whose interest he thought it necessary to undermine ; and from the letters of his agent, Lord Henry Howard, which, notwithstanding all his caution, have been preserved, we know that Sir Walter was among the number. He had acquainted himself with James's minutest peculiarities, and carefully accommodated his opinions to them all. The principles of his policy under Elizabeth, with slight exceptions, had been the same as those of Raleigh ; but the pliant minister was careful to modify and alter them in conformity with the feeble and temporizing character of her successor. When the king was on his way to his new dominions the secretary met him at York, where he lay "close and unseen," till he had secured the interest of the royal favourite, Sir George Hume, with whom he had many secret meetings. It was known that James had expressed the strongest antipathy to all connected with the conspiracy against Essex, and as Cecil was one of his chief enemies, his immediate removal from power was anticipated. But so cautiously had he provided against this, so ably had he employed his "purse and his wit" in securing the friendship of those who had most influence with his new master, that after his short incognito at York, he, says Weldon, "to the admiration of all, did appear, and come out of his chamber, like a giant, to run his race for honour and fortune ; and who in such dearness and privacy with the king as Sir Robert Cecil, as if he had been his faithful servant many years before!"*

By these means he was continued in his office of

* Weldon. Court and Character of King James, pp. 10, 11. But compare this with the Tract in Nichol's Progresses, vol. iii., entitled, King James's Entertainment from Scotland to London, p. 20.

principal secretary of state, equivalent to that of prime minister, whilst Raleigh was regarded with coldness and suspicion. We are informed by an author who has preserved some remarkable anecdotes of the court of King James, that Sir Walter was one of those who advised that his majesty should be bound by articles before being called to the government. It has also been conjectured that offence was taken at a proposed alliance between his son and the daughter and heiress of Basset of Umberleigh, a family descended from the Plantagenets, as if he had meant to support their claim to the throne. This last pretence is ridiculous, and the former does not rest on satisfactory evidence; but whatever was the cause he soon found, that to be merely neglected was considered too easy a fall for one who had soared so high. He held lucrative offices, and the king had needy favourites. He was deprived of the honourable post of captain of the guard, which was conferred on Sir Thomas Erskine. His wine-patent was withdrawn, and though some compensation was granted by a pension of £300 a-year, and by striking off an arrear of debt, the equivalent was of little moment, for in less than three months after James's arrival, he was involved by his enemies in a charge of treason. Of this unfounded and mysterious accusation,—the commencement of the saddest portion of Raleigh's history,—which has left so deep a stain upon the government of James, we shall give a general sketch, previous to a more minute exposition of the complicated scene of injustice and persecution presented by his trial.

One of Sir Walter's friends, or rather acquaintances, was Lord Cobham, brother-in-law of Secretary Cecil, a vain weak man, who, on James coming to the crown, having been disappointed of preferment, courted the society of the discontented, and talked foolishly against the government. Even in the time of Elizabeth he had secretly negotiated with the Count Aremberg, a Flemish nobleman in the service of Spain. When this foreigner, after James's accession, came into England as ambassador from the Archduke of Austria, he renewed his intimacy

with Cobham, and engaged his influence to further a peace with his Catholic majesty. One of the great enemies of such a measure was Raleigh, whose whole life had been signalized by a devoted hostility to Philip; he had recently written against his successor, and proposed to raise 2000 men at his own charges for the invasion of his kingdom. Aware of this, Cobham suggested to Aremberg that Sir Walter should have a pension, provided he consented to withdraw his opposition and promote their views. It was shown upon his trial, that his lordship offered him 8000 crowns, to which, considering it one of his idle conceits, he made no serious reply, but lightly answered he would tell him more when he saw the money. Such was the whole matter proved against Raleigh; and as it was notorious that the king was as anxious for peace as Aremberg could be,* as it was certain that this Austrian grandee and the Spanish ambassador had been lavish of both money and presents amongst the courtiers to further their master's interest; and as Cecil himself with ready pliability had adopted the opinion of James, it might have been expected that no great objection would be made to a proposal which was never carried into effect. It happened, however, that nearly at the same time in which this transaction took place, the secretary had discovered a plot concerted by a few Popish priests against the king and royal family, in which one of the principal conspirators was Mr Brooke, brother to Cobham. With some of these traitors this nobleman had at various times held intercourse, though on the scaffold his relative absolved him from all knowledge of their designs. But this was enough for Cecil to work on. Brooke was no sooner implicated than his kinsman became suspected; and the latter was no sooner tainted with distrust than the enemies of Raleigh began to hint their doubts of him also. At this moment Sir Walter had followed the court to Windsor, and the secretary, accosting him on the terrace, requested his

* Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 181.

attendance at a private meeting of the lords of the council. Obeying with readiness, he was examined regarding Cobham's intercourse with Aremberg, and declared his reasons for disbelieving any unwarrantable practices. On being farther questioned he added, that La Rensy, the servant of that ambassador, might be better able to explain the correspondence ; and the same advice he afterwards gave in a letter to Cecil. All this he did with the conviction that nothing treasonable had passed between the principal parties. Immediately after, however, Raleigh received orders to remain a prisoner in his own house ; and his lordship, who had also been apprehended, having sent to know what had taken place at the council, he informed him by his servant Captain Keymis, that he had cleared him of all suspicion. Cobham was next examined at Richmond, and at first exculpated both himself and his friend from the charge of any improper correspondence. When it was found nothing could be drawn from him in this way, a device of a base and crafty description was employed. Raleigh's letter to Cecil recommending that La Rensy should be interrogated, was shown to him ; and the effect being artfully heightened by suggestions that he had been betrayed, he broke into a furious passion, and accused Sir Walter, who had written it, of being privy to a conspiracy against the government. He declared that "having a passport to go to the King of Spain, he intended first to confer with the archduke ; from thence to proceed to Spain to solicit the king for 600,000 crowns ; thence to return by Jersey, and take Raleigh's advice regarding the distribution of the money to the discontented in England." Various other accusations were thrown out during this fit of excitement ; yet he wavered and retracted them all on leaving the council-room, and before he reached the foot of the stair was seized with such remorse that he confessed he had falsely accused his friend. With the conferences between this nobleman and Aremberg there was afterwards blended the ridiculous charge against Raleigh, of a design to place the crown on the head of

Arabella Stewart ; but it proved so absurd and contradictory that even his enemies appeared ashamed of it.

Such is an impartial outline of the whole circumstances which could be brought against Sir Walter ; and at first they seem to have been considered too trivial to be exaggerated into a serious accusation even by the obsequiousness of the judges and the inventive capacity of Cecil.* Efforts were therefore made to collect some more substantial proof against him ; and in the mean time he was confined to the Tower, and plied with private examinations. It is at this period that, in the diary of his enemy just named, and in a letter of one of the creatures of this minister, we find it asserted that Raleigh, in a fit of remorse or passionate carelessness of life, had attempted to stab himself in prison.† During this time Cobham, whose character seems to have been a compound of fear, weakness, and falsehood, was worked upon to reiterate the charges which he had retracted ; and his brother, a much abler man but of equally loose principles, was flattered by Cecil, who, holding out the promises of pardon, induced him to act in conformity with his wishes, and to perform any “services” required of him. Such is Brooke’s own account in a letter addressed to the secretary,‡ and it may be suspected that the “services” to which he alludes were some disclosures of secret practices which it was believed might connect Raleigh with the conspiracy of Brooke and the priests. Little more, however, of any consequence was brought to light against the prisoner. Captain Keymis, an officer in his confidence, and Lord Grey of Wilton, who was a party to the conspiracy of the priests, discovered nothing which could be turned to his crimination. Yet on the vague and inconclusive circumstances which have been already detailed was Sir Walter indicted at Staines, on

* Letter of Sir T. Edmondess, in Lodge’s Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 172.

† See Remarks at the end of this volume. Note C.

‡ Published for the first time from a MS. in the State-paper Office, by Mrs Thomson in her Appendix to the Life of Raleigh, Note P.

the 21st September ; a true bill was found by the grand jury ; he was appointed to take his trial for treason, and in the mean time remanded to the Tower.

Raleigh was too well acquainted with the power of his enemies, and with the injustice and rigour of the English law of treason as it then stood, not to perceive the imminent risk which he now ran. The enmity of Cecil, the skill and virulence of Coke, the attorney-general, and the timidity of a jury acting under their influence, were all taken into his calculation ; and he felt that his fate was almost already decided. Under these circumstances it was right that he should neglect no opportunity to save himself from destruction ; and accordingly he made a last attempt to obtain from his accuser a declaration of his innocence. When the lieutenant of the Tower was at supper, he got a poor man to cast in at the window where Cobham was confined an apple to which he had fastened a letter, beseeching him for God's sake to do him justice ; and this unhappy person, whose mind seems to have been in a perpetual vacillation between remorse and terror, was so far overcome by this appeal, that he returned an answer, afterwards produced at the trial, in which he cleared him of all treason in the most solemn manner. About the same time Raleigh addressed a supplication to the king, in which he adverted to the cruelty of a law which compounded treasons out of presumptions and circumstances ; and after asserting his innocence, besought him to temper its severity with the highest attribute of a sovereign,—mercy. He directed also an able letter to the Lords Cecil, Henry Howard, and Sir Edward Coke, in which he established the absurdity and groundlessness of the charges brought against him, by arguments which to this day have never been answered. But it does not appear that either of these attempts produced the least effect ; and he saw the day of trial arrive with the conviction that the heart of the king was too cold and indifferent, and those of the courtiers too cautious, to afford him the prospect of relief or even of justice. Weighed down as he must have been

by these depressing circumstances, it is impossible not to admire the vigour, courage, and ability with which he conducted his defence.

The plague at this time raging in London, the term was held at Winchester on the 17th November 1603. The principal commissioners were Howard, earl of Suffolk and lord-chamberlain; Charles Blunt, earl of Devon; Lord Henry Howard; Cecil himself; Lord Wotton of Morley; Sir John Stanhope, vice-chamberlain; and Popham, the lord-chief-justice. Some of these were Raleigh's determined enemies, and had conducted the examinations against him; others cared little whether he rose or fell; and the rest were probably the subservient tools of government.* The prisoner might well wonder at the multiplicity and weight of the charges. He was accused of conspiring to dethrone the king; of an attempt to raise sedition and to bring in the Roman superstition by means of a foreign invasion; of consulting with Lord Cobham at Durham House to place the crown on the head of Arabella Stewart, for which end 600,000 crowns were to be solicited from Aremberg, and a correspondence opened by his lordship with the Spanish government. Peace with Spain and the establishment of Popery were to be secured by the new princess; and to further their designs, the peer just named, on his return from Spain, was to have visited Raleigh at his government in Jersey, to settle the best mode of employing the money in raising a rebellion. Other particulars were added: It was alleged that Cobham had communicated these treasons to his brother, who readily joined in them; and that in a conversation it had been stated "there would never be a good world in England till the king and his cubs were taken away." Raleigh, it was lastly said, had given the same nobleman a book against the king's title; and for his assistance in manag-

* It is stated by a contemporary author, that the jury first appointed being suspected of too much independence, a list of more obsequious persons was substituted the night before the trial.

ing the correspondence with Aremberg was to receive 8000 crowns.

This indictment having been read, the jury was sworn, and Sir Edward Coke commenced his charge; but instead of confining himself to the real point at issue, he contrived to bring in a detailed account of the treason of Lord Grey, Brooke, and Markham, enlarging upon its baseness. He was interrupted by Sir Walter, who calmly entreated him to remember that all this was matter introduced to create a prepossession against him, and related to a separate crime, not even alluded to in the indictment. Recalled in this manner to his subject, Coke proceeded; but we shall give his charge, and the extraordinary scene of violence and abuse to which it led, in the original words of the trial.

“Now I come to your charge, my masters of the jury: The greatness of treason is to be considered in two things, —*determinatione finis, et electione mediorum*. This treason excelleth in both; for that it was to destroy the king and his progeny. These treasons are said to be *crimen læsæ majestatis*; this goeth farther, and may be termed *crimen extirpandæ regis majestatis et totius progeniei suæ*. I shall not need, my lords, to speak any thing concerning the king, nor of the bounty and sweetness of his nature, whose thoughts are innocent, whose words are full of wisdom and learning, and whose works are full of honour; although it be a true saying, *Nunquam nimis, quod nunquam satis*. But to whom do you bear malice? to the children?

“*Raleigh*.—To whom speak you this? You tell me news I never heard of.

“*Attorney*.—Oh, sir, do I? I will prove you the notorious traitor that ever came to the bar. After you have taken away the king, you would alter religion; as you, Sir Walter Raleigh, have followed them of the Bye* in imitation; for I will charge you with the words.

* The name of the “Bye” had been given by some of the conspirators themselves to the treason of Brooke and the priests. The plot which Raleigh was accused of instigating was called the “Main.”

“ *Raleigh.*—Your words cannot condemn me ; my innocency is my defence. Prove one of these things wherewith you have charged me, and I will confess the whole indictment ; and that I am the horriblest traitor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thousand torments.

“ *Attorney.*—Nay, I will prove all : thou art a monster ; thou hast an English face but a Spanish heart. Now you must have money : Aremberg was no sooner in England (I charge thee, Raleigh) but thou incitedst Cobham to go unto him, and to deal with him for money to bestow on discontented persons to raise rebellion in the kingdom.

“ *Raleigh.*—Let me answer for myself.

“ *Attorney.*—Thou shalt not.

“ *Raleigh.*—It concerneth my life.

“ *Attorney.*—Oh ! do I touch you ?”

After this Coke enumerated the charges contained in the indictment. “ I do not hear yet,” said Raleigh, “ that you have spoken one word against me. * * * If my Lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me ?” Coke’s answer was so remarkable that it passed into a proverb, and furnished Shakspeare with one of his amusing satirical touches in the character of Sir Toby Belch.

“ *Attorney.*—All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper ! for I *thou* thee, thou traitor !* ”

“ *Raleigh.*—It becometh not a man of quality and virtue to call me so ; but I take comfort in it ; it is all you can do.

“ *Attorney.*—Have I angered you ?

“ *Raleigh.*—I am in no case to be angry.”

* “ *Sir Andrew Aguecheek.* Will either of you bear me a challenge to him ?

“ *Sir Toby Belch.* Go, write it in a martial hand ; be curst and brief ; it is no matter how witty, so it be eloquent, and full of invention : taunt him with the license of ink : if thou *thou'st* him some thrice, it shall not be amiss ; and as many lies as will lie in thy sheet of paper, although the sheet were big enough for the bed of Ware in England, set 'em down.”

Twelfth Night, Act iii. Sc. 2.

This singular dialogue, in which the temper and dignity of the accused are finely contrasted with the scurrility of the crown-counsel, was brought to a conclusion by the Chief-justice Popham. "Sir Walter Raleigh," said he, "Mr Attorney speaketh out of the zeal of his duty for the service of the king, and you for your life: be patient on both sides."

The clerk now read the proofs, the first being the examination of Cobham, with the heads of which we are already acquainted. It is to be regretted that only an abstract of it appears on the record. One sentence is worthy of notice, as indicating the temper in which the accusation was made. "At the first beginning, he breathed out oaths and exclamations against Raleigh, calling him villain and traitor, saying, he had never entered into these courses but by his instigation, and that he would never let him alone. Besides, he spake of plots and invasions; of the particulars whereof he could give no account, though Raleigh and he had conferred of them." When it is remembered that this was, by the admission of the worst enemies of the accused, the solitary proof which could be brought against him; that Cobham afterwards solemnly retracted it; and that these absurd speeches of plots and invasions, of which his lordship could furnish no particulars, constituted the whole examination, it is difficult to reprobate in terms sufficiently strong a jury who convicted upon such evidence.

We are now arrived at the period of the trial where Raleigh was permitted to address the jury in his defence; and brief and garbled as his speech appears, it still gives some idea of the eloquence with which he repelled the charges. On the examination being read, he broke out into an exclamation of natural and unfeigned astonishment. "And this," said he, "is absolutely all the evidence which can be brought against me; poor shifts! Gentlemen of the jury, I pray you understand this: This is that which must either condemn or give me life—which must free me or send my wife and children to beg their bread about the streets: this is that

must prove me a notorious traitor or a true subject to the king. But first let me see my accusation, that I may make my answer." The declaration of Lord Cobham was then shown ; after which he thus proceeded : — "I will show you my answer to this, and how this accusation of my Lord Cobham arises. I was examined before my lords of the privy-council at Windsor touching the Surprising Treason,* and also of the Lord Cobham's practices with Aremberg, from all which God knows I was free, for I never was privy to any of them ; and as concerning plotting for the Lady Arabella, I protest before God, at that time I never heard one word of it ! It is true that in my examination I told the lords I knew of no plots between Aremberg and Cobham ; but afterwards I wrote to my Lord Cecil that I suspected Lord Cobham had intelligence with Aremberg. * * I suspected his visiting of him from this : that after he departed from me at Durham House, I saw him pass by his own stairs and cross over to St Mary Saviour's, where I knew La Rensy, a merchant and follower of Aremberg, lay. I gave intimation of this by letter to the lords ; but I was requested by Lord Cecil not to speak of this, because the king at the first coming of Count Aremberg would not give him occasion of suspicion. Wherefore I wrote to the Lord Cecil that if La Rensy were not secured the matter would not be discovered, for he would fly ; yet if he were then apprehended, it would give matter of suspicion to my Lord Cobham. This letter of mine being afterwards shown to the Lord Cobham, he thought I had discovered (and betrayed) his dealing with Aremberg, and immediately entered into a rage against me, and accused me ; but before he came to the stair-foot he repented, and as I heard, acknowledged he had done me wrong. When he came to the end of his accusation, he added, that if he had brought this money to Jersey, he feared I would

* The plot of Brooke, Grey, Markham, and the priests, to surprise the king, went by this name. It was also sometimes called the Bye.

have delivered him and the money to the king. Mr Attorney, you said, 'this never came out of Cobham's quiver—he is a simple man.' Is he so simple? No; he hath a disposition of his own, he will not easily be guided by others; but when he has once taken head in a matter he is not easily drawn from it; he is no babe. But it is strange for me to devise with Cobham, that he should go to Spain, to persuade the king to disburse so much money, he being a man of no love nor following in England, and I having resigned my room of chiefest command, the wardenship of the Stanneries. Moreover, I was not so bare of sense but I saw, that if ever this state was strong and able to defend itself it was now: I knew the kingdom of Scotland united, whence we were wont to fear all our troubles; Ireland quieted, where our forces were wont to be divided; Denmark assured, which before was suspected; the Low Countries, our nearest neighbours, at peace with us. I knew that, having lost a lady whom time had surprised, we had now an active king, a lawful successor, who would himself be present in all his affairs. I was not such a madman as to make myself, in this time, a Robin Hood, a Wat Tyler, or a Jack Cade. I knew also the state of Spain well; his weakness, and poorness, and humbleness at this time. I knew that he was discouraged and dishonoured. I knew that six times we had repulsed his forces,—thrice in Ireland, and thrice at sea,—once at Cadiz, on his own coast. Thrice had I served against him myself at sea, wherein, for my country's sake, I had expended of my own property £4000. I knew the King of Spain to be the proudest prince in Christendom; but now that he came creeping to the king, my master, for peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his port six or seven score sail of ships, he hath now but six or seven. I knew, of twenty-five millions he had from his Indies he hath scarce one left. I knew him to be so poor that the Jesuits, his imps, who were wont to have such large allowance, were fain to beg at the church-doors. Then, was it ever read or heard that any prince should disburse

so much money without a sufficient pawn? Whoso knows what great assurances the King of Spain stood upon with other states for smaller sums, will not think that he would so freely disburse to my Lord Cobham 600,000 crowns. And if I had minded to set the Lord Cobham to work in such a case, I should surely have given him some instructions how he should persuade the King of Spain and answer his objections; for I know Cobham to be no such minion as could persuade a king who was in want, to advance so great a sum of money without reason, and some assurance for it. I knew her own subjects, the citizens of London, would not lend her late majesty money without lands in mortgage. I knew the queen did not lend the States money without Flushing, Brill, and other towns, for a pawn; and can it be thought that he would let Cobham have so great a sum? What pawn had we to give the King of Spain? What did we offer him? And to show I was not Spanish, as you term me, I had written at this time a treatise to the king's majesty of the present state of Spain, and the reasons against the peace. For my inwardness with the Lord Cobham, it was only in matters of private estate, wherein he communicated often with me, and I lent him my best advice. * * Whether he intended to travel to Spain or no, God in heaven knoweth. But for my knowing that he had conspired all those things with Spain for Arabella against the king, I protest before Almighty God, I am as clear as whoever here is freest."

When Cobham's second declaration was read, the accused vehemently objected to it, on the ground that the examination had been conducted in the most partial manner; that his passion had been roused by the exhibition of the letter to Cecil; that the declaration had not been read over to him, and that he had refused to subscribe it till compelled by the lord-chief-justice. The foreman of the jury requested to be informed regarding this letter, said to have been addressed by Raleigh to Cecil, and whether it was written before the time of the Lord Cobham's accusation; and the wary secretary thus

replied, with an apparent tenderness to one who had in former years been his friend :—“ I am in great dispute with myself how to speak in the case of this gentleman ; a former dearness between me and him tied so firm a knot of my conceit of his virtues, now broken by a discovery of his imperfections. I protest, did I serve a king that I knew would be displeased with me for speaking, in this case I would speak, whatever came of it ; but seeing he is compacted of piety and justice, and one that will not mislike any man for speaking a truth,—I will answer your question. Sir Walter Raleigh was staid by me at Windsor, upon the first news of Copley, that the king's person should be surprised by my Lord Grey and Mr George Brooke. When I found Brooke was in, I suspected Cobham ; then I doubted Raleigh to be a partaker. I speak not this that it should be thought I had greater judgment than the rest of my lords, in making this haste to have him examined. Raleigh following to Windsor, I met with him upon the terrace, and willed him, as from the king, to stay, saying, the lords had something to say to him : he was then examined, but not concerning my Lord Cobham, but of the Surprising Treason. My Lord Grey was apprehended, and likewise Brooke. By Brooke we found, that he had given notice to Cobham of the Surprising Treason as he delivered it to us ; but with as much sparingness of a brother as he might. We sent for my Lord Cobham to Richmond, where he stood upon his justification and his quality : sometimes being froward, he said he was not bound to subscribe [his examination], wherewith we made the king acquainted. Cobham said, If my lord-chief-justice would say it were a contempt, he would subscribe ; whereof being resolved, he subscribed. For Sir Walter Raleigh I must say, that there was a light given by him to me, that La Rensy had dealt betwixt Count Aremberg and the Lord Cobham ; but that Sir W. Raleigh knew at that time of Lord Cobham's accusation I cannot say.”*

* In this reply the reader will observe the dexterity with

In reply to the allegation of Raleigh, that Cobham had accused him in a fit of passion, the attorney brought forward a circumstance afterwards shown to be false, and at the time unsupported by proof, but which, there can be little doubt, had its effect on the jury. "It hath been argued," said he, "that Cobham acted under a paroxysm of resentment. Yet it was no sudden ebullition, for at least two months before he had said to his brother Brooke, 'You are fools, you are in the Bye. Raleigh and I are on the Main. We mean to take away the king and his cubs.'" This speech, which was afterwards proved never to have been uttered, roused the indignation of the accused, who earnestly besought the court and the jury to have it investigated. "I beseech you, my lords," said he, "let it be proved that Cobham so expressed himself. You try me by the Spanish Inquisition if you proceed only by the circumstances without two witnesses. Good my lords, let it be proved, either by the laws of the land or the laws of God, that there ought not to be two witnesses appointed. * * It is no rare thing for a man to be falsely accused. A judge condemned a woman in Sarum for killing her husband, on the testi-

which Cecil evades the important question put to him by the juryman. The object of the question was evident. Raleigh had asserted that his letter to Cecil had been shown to Cobham, and that this circumstance had stimulated that nobleman to accuse him. The juryman wished to find out if this was true, and requested to know the time or date of this letter, and whether it preceded Cobham's accusation. Nothing can be plainer than the question,—and Cecil had only to give the date,—to say yes or no. But mark the crafty obscurity of his answer. "For Sir W. Raleigh, I must say, that there was a light given by him to me, that La Rensy had dealt betwixt Count Aremberg and the Lord Cobham; *but that Sir Walter at that time knew of the Lord Cobham's accusation, I cannot say*; for I think he was not then examined touching any matter concerning my Lord Cobham,—for only the Surprising Treason was then in suspicion." The truth was, that Sir Walter could not possibly have *then* known of Lord Cobham's accusation, because that accusation had not *then* been made,—a fact perfectly understood by Cecil, but which he did not choose to mention, because it corroborated Raleigh's defence.*

* Trial as printed by Oldys, p. 665. Jardine's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 416

mony of one witness. Afterward, when she was executed, the real murderer confessed. What said the judge to Fortescue, touching the remorse of his conscience for proceeding upon such slender proof? ‘That so long as he lived he would never purge his conscience of that deed.’ I may be told, that the statutes I have before named are repealed. Yet the equity and reason of those laws remain : and at all events the law of God remaineth for ever ; and the canon of God saith, ‘At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall he that is worthy of death be put to death—but at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death.’ If then, by the statute law, by the civil law, and by God’s word, it be required that there must be two witnesses at the least, bear with me if I desire one. Let Cobham be here ; let him speak it. Call my accuser before my face, and I have done. All is but his accusation. No other thing hath been brought against me ; and yet this accusation he never subscribed,—he never avouched. I beseech you, my lords, let this lord be sent for. Charge him on his soul,—on his allegiance to the king. If he affirm it I am content to be found guilty.”

It was the observation of James himself,—that weak monarch, under whose authority this scene of judicial severity was transacted,—that if Cobham could have spoken one word against Raleigh, his enemies would have brought him from Constantinople.* Cecil dreaded nothing more than the producing of the accuser. He knew that the whole of Cobham’s evidence would break down under the cross-examination of Sir Walter, and trembled lest his searching interrogations should bring to light his own courses and the plot he had laid for his victim. Determined, therefore, that the prisoner’s entreaty should not be listened to, he did not reject it himself, but with his usual art made the refusal come from the judges. They readily repelled every argument, and declared that it was illegal to grant a request which would promote

* Cayley, vol. ii. p. 77.

the growth of treasons, and open a door for the destruction of the king.

Driven from this just ground, the trial proceeded, and an attempt was made to prejudice the jury by implicating the prisoner in the crime of Clark, Watson, and the priests:—"Now," said Coke, "let us come to those words of Brooke regarding the destruction of the king and his cubs." These expressions, all knowledge of which Raleigh indignantly denied, were afterwards retracted by the accuser on the scaffold; and yet an effort was now made to connect them with a circumstance stated in the indictment, that Cobham had received from Sir Walter a book written against the king's title to the throne.

Nothing could more strongly demonstrate the cruel and unjust manner in which every trifle was wrested than this circumstance. The book was found among Lord Burleigh's papers, which Raleigh had examined with the permission of that nobleman's son. It had been by mistake carried to his house; it was taken off his table by Cobham, who declared that Sir Walter had said it was foolishly written: yet the attorney exaggerated the affair into a premeditated attempt to sow discontent and treason.

The lord-high-admiral seized this moment of the trial to bring in his sister-in-law, the lady Arabella Stewart, who protested she never had dealt in these things, though Cobham had written to her affirming that some about the king laboured to disgrace her. This letter she considered a foolish trick, and immediately sent it to his majesty. Nothing, indeed, could be more ridiculous than the whole story,—nothing more completely established by the evidence, than that no conspiracy to place this lady on the throne existed any where except perhaps in the idle brain of Cobham. Raleigh knew this well; and, confident of a successful issue were he permitted to cross-examine that peer, made another struggle to be confronted with him: "The Lord Cobham," said he, "hath accused me—you see in what manner he hath forsworn it. Were it not for his accusation, all this were

nothing. Let him be asked if I knew of the letter which La Rensy brought to him from Aremberg. Let me speak for my life ; it can be no hurt for him to be brought—he dares not accuse me. If you grant me not this favour I am strangely used. Campion was not denied to have his accusers face to face.” To this the lord-chief-justice remarked, that Cobham could not be brought, because the acquitting of his old friend might move him to speak otherwise than the truth. Raleigh’s reply was perfectly convincing :—“ If,” said he, “ I had been the infuser of all these treasons into him,—you, gentlemen of the jury, mark this,—if I have been, as he is made to say, the cause of all his miseries and the destruction of his house, and that all evil hath happened unto him by my wicked counsel, if this be true, whom hath he cause to accuse and to be revenged on but me ?—and I know him to be as revengeful as any man on earth.

At this critical moment Cecil again introduced one of his artful speeches :—“ I am afraid,” said he, “ my oft speaking (who am inferior to my lords here present) will make the world think I delight to hear myself talk. My affection to you, Sir Walter Raleigh, was not extinguished but slaked, in regard of your deserts. You know the law of the realm (which your mind doth not contest), that my Lord Cobham cannot be brought. Yet let me ask you this—If my Lord Cobham should be brought, and were we to ask him whether you were his only instigator to proceed in the treasons, dare you put yourself on his answer ?” This appeal was met by Raleigh with the promptitude and confidence of innocence. “ I do dare it,” said he. “ If Cobham will declare before God and the king, that ever I knew of Arabella’s matter, or of the money out of Spain, or of the Surprising Treason, I put myself upon it,—let me at once be pronounced guilty.” “ Then,” said Cecil, “ Sir Walter Raleigh, call upon Heaven, and prepare yourself ; for I do verily believe my lords will prove this. Excepting your faults (I call them no worse), by God I am your friend ! The heat and passion in you, and the attorney’s zeal in the

king's service, makes me speak this. You argue that Cobham must have acquainted you with his conferences with Aremberg. That does not follow. If I set you on work, and you give me no account,—does that make me innocent?" To this the reply of the accused conveyed more than met the ear. "Whoever," said he, "is the workman, it is reason he should give an account to the workmaster. But let it be proved that he gave me any account of his conferences with Aremberg."

The reader will observe the courage with which Raleigh perils the whole case upon his being confronted with his accuser, and the subterfuge by which Cecil, who was not prepared for such boldness, slides out of the dilemma. Who does not expect, after this strong denunciation, "Then, Sir Walter Raleigh, call upon Heaven and prepare yourself!" that Cobham is to be brought in to prove the whole? Yet all that follows is the "verily believe" of this crafty politician, that the lords are to make out their case. A more impotent conclusion could not be imagined. That this statesman was Raleigh's enemy, and even before the king's accession had done every thing to prejudice the royal mind against him, is proved by his own letters to James. What then are we to think of this obtestation of the great name of God in connexion with so gross a falsehood as the assurance that he still continued his friend? But the Secretary, who had been bred, as his biographers tell us, a courtier from his cradle, early acquired, in its highest perfection, that most courtier-like quality—hypocrisy. In the last words, as to the "workmaster" or contriver of the accusation, it is difficult to resist the inference that Raleigh points to Cecil himself.

The attorney next called a low witness, one Dyer a pilot, to prove an idle speech of some nameless Portuguese who, at Lisbon, had said to him, "Don Cobham and Don Raleigh would cut the king's throat before he was crowned." On this Sir Walter convincingly argued, that if Cobham was in correspondence with Aremberg, which he had no intention to deny, it must necessarily

be known in Spain. "Why," said he, "did they name the Duke of Buckingham with Jack Straw's treason, and the Duke of York with Jack Cade, but to countenance his treason? Consider you, gentlemen of the jury, there is no cause so doubtful which the king's council cannot make good against the law. Consider my disability and their ability. They prove nothing against me; and they bring the accusation of my Lord Cobham, which he hath lamented and repented as heartily as if it had been for a horrible murder. For he knew that all this sorrow which should come to me is by his means. Presumptions must proceed from precedent of subsequent facts. I have spent 40,000 crowns against the Spaniards. If I had died in Guiana, I had not left 300 marks a-year to my wife and son. I that have always condemned the Spanish faction—methinks it is a strange thing that now I should affect it! Remember what St Austin says, 'So judge as if you were about to be judged yourselves; for in the end there is but one judge, but one tribunal for all men.' Now, if you yourselves would like to be hazarded in your lives and disabled in your descendants,—if you would be content to be delivered up to be slaughtered; to have your wives and children turned into the street to beg their bread—if you would be content all this should befall you upon a trial by suspicions and presumptions, upon an accusation not subscribed by your accuser,—without the open testimony of a single witness,—then so judge me as you would yourselves be judged."

A singular interruption now took place. The attorney, having failed again in the proof, launched forth into abuse, and was exhorted by Cecil to be less impatient; "upon which," says the record, "Mr Attorney sat down in a chafe, and would speak no more until the commissioners urged and entreated him to proceed." He then, after much persuasion, arose and broke out into still more violent invective,—but we shall present the dialogue which ensued in the words of the trial:—

"*Attorney.*—Thou art the most vile and execrable traitor that ever lived.

“ *Raleigh.*—You speak indiscreetly, barbarously, and uncivilly.

“ *Attorney.*—I want words sufficient to express thy viperous treasons.

“ *Raleigh.*—I think you want words indeed, for you have spoken one thing half a dozen times.

“ *Attorney.*—Thou art an odious fellow ; thy name is hateful to all the realm of England for thy pride.

“ *Raleigh.*—It will go near to prove a measuring-cast between you and me, Mr Attorney.

“ *Attorney.*—Well, now will I make it appear to the world that there never lived a viler viper upon the face of the earth than thou.” (*In saying this he drew a letter from his pocket, and continued.*) “ My Lords, you shall see. This is an agent who hath writ a treatise against the Spaniard, and hath ever so detested him ! this is he that hath spent so much money against him in service ! and yet you shall see whether his heart be not wholly Spanish. The Lord Cobham, who of his nature was a good and honourable gentleman till overtaken by this wretch, now finding his conscience heavily burdened with some of the courses which the subtilty of this traitor had drawn him into, he could be at no rest in himself, nor quiet in his thoughts, until he was eased of that heavy weight. Out of which passion of his mind, and discharge of his duty to his prince and his conscience to God, taking it upon his salvation that he wrote nothing but the truth, with his own hands he wrote this letter : — ‘ I have thought it fit to set down this to my lords, wherein I protest on my soul to write nothing but the truth. I am come now near to the period of my time, therefore I confess the whole truth before God and his angels. Raleigh, four days before I came from the Tower, caused an apple to be thrown in at my chamber-window ; the effect of it was to entreat me to right the wrong that I had done him in saying that I should come home by Jersey ; which, under my hand, I have retracted. His first letter I answered not, which was thrown in the same manner ; wherein he prayed me to

write him a letter, which I did. He sent me word that the judges had met at Mr Attorney's house, and that there was good hope the proceedings against us would be staid. He sent me another time a little tobacco. At Aremberg's coming Raleigh was to have procured a pension of £1500 a-year; for which he promised that no action should be against Spain, the Low Countries, or the Indies, but he would give knowledge beforehand. He told me the States had audience with the king. He hath been the original cause of my ruin; for I had no dealing with Aremberg but by his instigation. He hath also been the cause of my discontentment. He advised me not to be overtaken with preachers as Essex was; and that the king would better allow of a constant denial than to accuse any." On this letter Mr Attorney resumed his commentary and pleading:—"Oh damnable atheist!" said he, "he hath learnt some text of Scripture to serve his own purpose, but falsely alleged. He counselled him not to be counselled by preachers as Essex was. Essex died the child of God; God honoured him at his death; thou [Raleigh] wast present when he died. *Et lupus et turpes instant morientibus ursæ.* * * I doubt not but this day God shall have as great a conquest by this traitor, and the Son of God shall be as much glorified as when it was said *Vicisti, Galilæe.* You know my meaning."

It will be remarked by the reader, that this second declaration of Cobham contains nothing new against Raleigh. He had never denied the offer of money or a pension from Spain,—made to him, as it had been to many others, that he might use his influence to procure a peace,—but that he had accepted the offer was nowhere shown; and his reply to the tissue of abuse and slander brought against him by Coke was calm and noble:—"You have heard," said he, "a strange tale of a strange man. Now, Mr Attorney thinks he hath matter enough to destroy me. But the king and all of you shall witness by our deaths which of us was the ruin of the other. I bid a poor fellow throw in the letter at Cob-

ham's window, written to this purpose:—"You know you have undone me; now write three lines to justify me." In this I will die that he hath done me wrong. Why did he not acquaint me with his treasons if I did acquaint him with my dispositions?" Sir Walter was here interrupted by the chief-justice, who asked, "But what say you now of the letter, and the pension of £1500 per annum?" "I say," he replied, "that Cobham is a base, dishonourable, poor soul; as this will show." He then produced a letter and requested Cecil to read it; as he only of the commissioners knew the hand. It contained a complete exculpation, and made a great impression in the court. Its terms were these:—"Seeing myself so near my end, for the discharge of my own conscience, and freeing myself from your blood, which else will cry vengeance against me; I protest upon my salvation I never practised with Spain by your procurement. God so comfort me in this my affliction, as you are a true subject for any thing I know! I will say as Daniel,*—*Purus sum a sanguine hujus*. So God have mercy upon my soul as I know no treason by you!"

This was the last piece of evidence adduced,—a marshal was then sworn to keep the court, and the jury being shut up, deliberated for a quarter of an hour, and returned a verdict of Guilty. Raleigh was now asked in the usual form, whether he had any thing to say why judgment and execution of death should not pass against him. To which, standing up, he answered with perfect equanimity,—

"MY LORDS,—The jury have found me guilty. They must do as they are directed. I can say nothing why judgment should not proceed. You see whereof Cobham hath accused me. You remember his protestations that I was never guilty. I desire the king should know of the wrongs done me since I came hither by Mr Attorney. I desire my lords to remember three things to the king.

* It is evident that Cobham here substitutes Daniel for *Pilate*.

1st, I was accused to be a practiser for Spain. I never knew that my Lord Cobham meant to go thither. I will ask no mercy at the king's hand if he will affirm it. 2d, I never knew of the practice with Arabella. 3d, I never knew of my Lord Cobham's practice with Aremberg, nor of the Surprising Treason. I submit myself to the king's mercy. I know his mercy is greater than my offence. I recommend my wife, and son of tender years unbrought up, to his compassion."

The chief-justice now pronounced the sentence of death; and when, according to the form in cases of treason, he detailed with horrible minuteness the manner of execution, Sir Walter requested the lords-commissioners to entreat the king, in consideration of the honourable places he had held, that the extreme rigour of his sentence might be qualified—that his death should not be ignominious. The court then broke up, and Raleigh accompanied the sheriff to the prison; all being struck with his noble demeanour, which it was observed became a man conscious of innocence, and yet not insensible to his situation as being condemned by the laws of his country.*

In the Hardwicke Papers there is an interesting letter from Sir Dudley Carleton, who was present at the trial, which describes the impression made by the defence. "Sir Walter Raleigh," says he, "served for a whole act, and played all the parts himself. His cause was disjoined from the priests, as being a practice only between himself and the Lord Cobham to have brought in the Spaniard, to have raised rebellion in the realm by fastening money upon discontents; to have set up the Lady Arabella, and to have tied her to certain conditions. * * The evidence against him was only Cobham's confession, which was judged sufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accused Raleigh as the first practiser of the treason

* Cayley, vol. ii. p. 79.

betwixt them, which served to turn against him; though he showed, to countervail this, a letter written by Cobham, and delivered to him in the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitted. After sentence given, his request was to have his answers related to the king, and pardon begged; of which if there were no hope, then that Cobham might die first. He answered with that temper, wit, learning, courage, and judgment, that, save that it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happiest day he ever spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that were not *fama malum gravius quam res*, and an ill name half hanged, in the opinion of all men, he had been acquitted. The two first that brought the news to the king were Roger Ashton, and a Scotsman, whereof one affirmed, 'That never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come;' and the other said, 'That whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life.'

To clear up the mystery with which this extraordinary trial has hitherto been covered, it will not be uninteresting to offer a few remarks; and, first, I would observe, that Raleigh's innocence of any treasonable practices may be established almost to a demonstration. The only circumstance to connect him with the plot by Brooke and the priests, which in the trial is called the Surprising Treason, was the declaration stated to be made by Cobham to his brother, that "there never would be peace in England till the fox and his cubs were taken off," meaning the king. Now we have Cecil's evidence, the most unsuspected on this point certainly which could be given, that "Brooke recalled to the bishop, on receiving the sacrament, that accusation which he had made of his brother concerning those odious words supposed to be uttered by the Lord Cobham (meaning thereby our gracious sovereign and his issue), that 'it never would be well until the fox and cubs were taken away.'"

This charge, therefore, must be dismissed as unfounded ; and it is to be observed, that neither Brooke, nor Grey, nor any of the others who suffered, uttered a word which could involve Sir Walter in any knowledge of the Surprising Treason.*

In the next place, as to Cobham's accusation, it consisted of two parts, the plan for setting up the Lady Arabella Stewart, and the receiving a pension from Spain. The first scarcely deserves a moment's consideration ; for it is impossible that any one should attentively read the evidence, garbled and partial as it is, without being convinced that the whole story is idle and ridiculous. A late author, in his character of Raleigh, has loosely asserted, " that he had certainly, in some measure, engaged in that conspiracy to place Arabella Stewart on the throne, the singular extravagance of which is well known to all readers of English history."† That no such plot existed may be satisfactorily demonstrated. There is no mention of any design to set up that lady in Cecil's first account of the conspiracies of Brooke and Grey, and of Cobham and Raleigh, which he conveys in a letter to Sir Thomas Parry, ambassador in France.‡ There is no allusion to such a plot in a letter from the same politician to Mr Winwood, dated 3d October,§ where he gives a sketch of both. In the first examination of Cobham there is not a word of Lady Arabella, though he was questioned as to plots and invasions of which he could give no particular account.|| In his second examination he is equally silent. When we look at the evidence on the trial, we find that none of the conspirators in the Surprising Treason, neither Brooke, Grey, Watson, nor Copley, say one word regarding that scheme. In the last letter written by Cobham accusing Raleigh, upon which the attorney-general founded his main proof, there is nothing

* See the Remarks at the end of this volume, on the errors committed by Hume, Carte, and other writers, in their account of this trial.

† Lodge's Portraits and Memoirs. ‡ Cayley, vol. ii. p. 6.

§ Ibid. p. 13.

|| Ibid. p. 27.

said respecting it. On that nobleman's own trial we find it stated by Sir Dudley Carleton, "that for any thing that belonged to the Lady Arabella, he [Cobham] denied the whole accusation ;"* and, lastly, we have, in Cecil's letter to Sir Thomas Parry, written after the conclusion of all the trials, when he had acquired the fullest information, this remarkable sentence :—"There remaineth now, that I do resolve you of some doubts which you might conceive concerning Lady Arabella, Count Aremberg, and other persons named in the Lord Cobham's and Sir Walter Raleigh's indictment, how far they are to be touched with it or not. And therefore you shall understand, that as that practice was discovered in the very infancy of it, before it was either put in action or imparted to any, so far the Lady Arabella, the archduke, and King of Spain, they were merely ignorant of any such thing, *which these men had but conceived in their minds and discoursed of among themselves.* But for the Count of Aremberg, with whom the Lord Cobham had had private meetings, and intercourse of letters, it was always pretended to him, howsoever it might be intended by the Lord Cobham, *to be for the advancement of the peace* ; and that the money which the count was contented to promise, should be bestowed only for gaining of friends to stand for the treaty."†

It is impossible to desire more convincing evidence that the plot existed nowhere but in the indictment. When we find Cecil declaring that the parties had discoursed of it among themselves, it gives us a poor opinion of the veracity of this statesman, to know that he was asserting what he must have been aware had been contradicted by the whole evidence on the trial. Whether Cobham had ever conceived such an idea cannot now be discovered. In his last letter and on his trial he denied the whole story and exculpated the accused ; and assuredly no one can maintain that such a conceit, imparted neither to Sir Walter, to the other conspirators, to the lady her-

* Cayley, vol. ii. p. 67.

† Ibid. pp. 63, 64.

self, nor to Aremberg, who was to advance the money, but kept entirely to himself, is for an instant entitled to the name of a conspiracy.

Having established Raleigh's innocence with regard to the treason of Brooke, and the imaginary plot concerning the Lady Arabella, it will require very few words to show that, so far as he was involved in the matter of Count Aremberg, he entertained no treasonable designs. All that was proved regarded the offer by Cobham of a sum of money or a pension, on condition of his promoting the peace with Spain, and giving intelligence to that government. On this point, from the first moment when he was examined to the last when he imagined he was preparing for death, he gave the same account. Being known to all England, to Europe, and indeed to the New World, as well as the Old, to be one of the ablest and most determined enemies of Spain, it was considered material to induce him to withdraw his opposition to a peace; and he readily acknowledged that Cobham had talked to him of 8000 crowns or of a pension, adding, that he would get the promised bribe within three days. This last circumstance was so improbable, that Raleigh thought the whole was one of his lordship's idle conceits, and answered lightly, that when he saw the money he would be ready to talk more on the subject.* At the same time he confessed, that he was to blame for concealing this offer which he never meant to accept. Such was the declaration to which Sir Walter adhered with the constancy that belongs to truth. It is also material to observe, that Cobham corroborated this account in his examinations, in his last letter regarding Raleigh, and on his trial; whilst Cecil, in a paper already quoted, strikingly confirms it.† That such a proposal should be idly made by such a man, was nothing extraordinary. There would have been guilt in accepting it, or seriously entertaining it, or receiving the money; but of this, no

* Trial, p. 425. New Edition.

† Cayley, vol. ii. p. 63.

proof whatever, either by witnesses or documents, was produced.

From an impartial view of the whole evidence we arrive at these conclusions:—That Raleigh was in no way connected with the treason of Brooke and Grey; that there was no plot regarding the Lady Arabella, and, of course, that he could not be involved in it; and lastly, that his sole offence lay in his discontent with the government, and in his having listened to Cobham while talking in a cursory manner of procuring him a sum of money provided he would further the peace with Spain.

We have now ascertained, on what appears to be strong and sufficient grounds, the amount of Raleigh's guilt, if it deserve so grave a name, and it cannot be better described than in his own words in a letter to the king:—"Lost I am for hearing a vain man; for hearing only, and never believing or approving. And so little account I made of that speech of his which was my condemnation (as the living God doth truly witness!) [meaning Cobham's proposal of the pension], that I never remembered any such thing till it was at my trial objected against me." An interesting question yet remains, which, considering the historical importance of this trial, it is singular should not have been proposed for investigation by any of the numerous writers who have alluded to it. To whom are we to trace the invention of the charges against him? by whose ingenuity was the net prepared in which he was irrecoverably entangled? There is, I think, strong circumstantial evidence to show that the author of the whole was no other than Cecil. On the trial we have twice found him calling God to witness, in the most solemn manner, that he had a sincere friendship for Raleigh; yet it can be shown that the very reverse was the case. In that remarkable correspondence which this minister, by means of his crafty agent, Lord Henry Howard, carried on with James VI. anterior to his accession to the English throne, it is completely established that, for a considerable time before the death of Elizabeth, although he preserved towards Sir Walter

the appearance of confidence, he was his bitter political enemy, and had determined on his ruin.* The discovery of these practices naturally incensed the latter; and soon after James's accession, it is said he defended himself in a memorial, and accused Cecil not only of being a chief instrument in the fall of Essex, but of having a principal hand in the death of the Queen of Scots.† James took little notice of this; but the offence must have been a mortal one to such a man as Cecil, and from that moment he probably determined to get rid of his rival. Yet so covertly did he for the most part proceed in his state intrigues, that it is sometimes difficult to trace his hand. In the instance before us, however, it may be detected pretty clearly: To begin, we have his own admission upon the trial, that he was the first who threw suspicion upon the prisoner. "When I found Brooke was in," says he, "I suspected Cobham; then I doubted Raleigh to be a partaker." In the next place, he was the person who recommended that Raleigh should be detained and examined before the lords of the council. "Sir Walter," says he on the trial, "was staid by me at Windsor, upon the first news of Copley, that the king's person should be surprised by my Lord Grey and Mr George Brooke. I speak not this that it should be thought I had greater judgment than the rest of my lords in making this haste to have him examined." This sentence, under an affected modesty, shows the important fact, that he alone among the members of the council intimated suspicions of Raleigh, and made haste to have him examined. It was found that he could not possibly be connected with the plot just mentioned; the declarations of the conspirators completely exculpated him; but Cobham, Brooke's brother, was engaged in a correspondence with Aremberg. Sir Walter was intimately acquainted with his lordship; and, as shown above, a base but ingenious "device" was fallen upon to induce this nobleman to criminate Raleigh. The

* See Remarks at the end of the volume.

† Camden, in Kennet's Hist. of England, vol. ii. pp. 663, 664.

reader already knows the manner in which this was accomplished.* The secretary was in possession of an epistle, addressed by Raleigh to himself, about the correspondence with Arenberg, which Sir Walter believed to relate to the Spanish peace. When Cobham came to be examined, this letter was handed to him, accompanied by the observation, that Raleigh had accused him. The success of the scheme was complete ; for the baron, a violent and unprincipled man, broke into a furious passion, and in his turn denounced his supposed accuser as guilty of a treasonable correspondence with Spain.† We need not hesitate, therefore, to pronounce the evidence nearly complete, which shows Cecil to have been the principal inventor of that contrivance by which a man, whom he knew to be innocent, was involved in a charge which ultimately cost him his life. Raleigh was well aware of this. In a letter written, previous to his trial, to the Earls of Nottingham, Suffolk, Devonshire, and Cecil himself, there is this sentence: “By what means that revengeful accusation was stirred, *you, my Lord Cecil, know right well* that it was my letter about Keymis ; and your lordships all know, whether it be maintained, or whether, out of truth and out of a Christian consideration, it be revoked.”‡

The enmity of the secretary is fully established by the despatches of the French ambassador De Beaumont, then in England, who declares that he was “violently set upon the prosecution, acting more from interest and passion than from any zeal for the public good.”§ The same enmity was exhibited during the trial. Had he been the prisoner’s friend, which he declares before God he was, his influence was so great, that he might by dwelling on alleviating circumstances have disposed the jury to acquit him : This is shown by a remarkable

* *Supra*, p. 235.

† This fact is established by a contemporary letter in Sir Toby Mathews’ Collection, p. 281.

‡ Cayley, vol. ii. p. 12.

§ Carte, vol. iii. p. 219.

passage in a letter of Sir Dudley Carleton, describing the trial of Brooke, and other conspirators. "Parham was acquitted; * * yet had he gone the same way as the rest (as it is thought) *save for a word the Lord Cecil cast in the way as the cause was in handling*, 'That the king's glory consisted as much in freeing the innocent as condemning the guilty.'" Yet every word cast in by Cecil in Raleigh's trial was unfavourable to the accused; and the reader is already aware how steadily he opposed the *viva voce* examination of Cobham,—the last solitary hope left to Raleigh of establishing his innocence. In his letters written after the trial, the secretary gives a garbled representation of the grounds upon which Sir Walter was found guilty; and in his anxiety to account for the inconsistencies in the story of Cobham's plot, he contradicts himself on a material point, which is worthy of notice. In a note, addressed to Sir Thomas Parry, *previous* to the trial but after the examinations had been taken, he accuses Cobham of a scheme to obtain money from Aremberg *not to procure a peace*, but for some other design by which *he would prosper better than by peace*.* In a second communication, written *after* the trial to the same person, then ambassador in France, he as positively asserts a totally different story, namely, that "for the Count of Aremberg, with whom the Lord Cobham had private meetings, and intercourse of letters, *it was always pretended to him, howsoever it might be intended by the Lord Cobham to be for the advancement of the peace*, and that the money which the count was contented to promise, should be bestowed only for gaining of friends to stand for the treaty, without *any farther reference*."† It is not difficult to detect the cause of this discrepancy: When the first letter was written, Cecil hoped to make something of the pretended plot in favour of the Lady Arabella; and, in speaking of the correspondence, it was necessary to throw out hints of an ulterior scheme, distinct from the negotiation of a treaty: this

* Cayley, vol. ii. pp. 8, 9.

† Ibid. p. 64.

is what we are to understand by "another design by which he might prosper better than by the peace." It was soon discovered, however, that all hopes of dressing up this conspiracy were vain. The charge was indeed retained in the indictment, but the reader has seen that no proof whatever could be elicited: the whole attempt failed signally, and it exceeded the wit of this accomplished politician to make out a plot,—of which the principals declared their innocence, and of which the lady who was to profit by it, and the agent who was said to have advanced money for its accomplishment, knew nothing. In his second note to Parry, therefore, the secretary, in describing the intercourse between Cobham and Aremberg, finds it necessary to change his statement, and not only distinctly admits, but asserts in the most positive manner, that the latter was never allowed to suppose that the money was intended for any other purpose than the advancement of the peace.

Through the confusion and mystery which has so long surrounded this trial,* the plot against Raleigh may thus, I think, be traced to its real author in the secretary; and we have seen that the character of this statesman was every way conformable to such a mode of proceeding. It has been said of him by Lord Clarendon, that "it was as necessary for Cecil there should be treasons as for the state they should be prevented." He seemed only to breathe when surrounded by the air of suspicion; and although there are many instances of his reconciliation with his rivals in power where interest demanded it, there are none where such reconciliation prevented his pulling them down: the moment they crossed the path of his ambition, he had sufficiently prepared the means of their ruin. To his own creatures he proved faithful so long as they were servile, and did not "scan his policy"

* Rushworth has pronounced the conspiracy of which Raleigh was accused "*a riddle of state*," and every subsequent writer has contented himself with reiterating the expression without making any serious attempt to solve the mystery. See Remarks at the end of this volume.

too nearly ; but against others who were too proud to court him, and dared to thwart his measures, he cherished a tenacious enmity which brooded over its purpose, and waited calmly for the day of reckoning. Alluding to his skill in the pursuit and unravelling of plots the king used playfully to call him his " Little Beagle ;" and, in the trial of Raleigh, he clung to his victim with something of the untiring instinct of the creature to which his master compared him ; yet all was done so temperately, with such finished dissembling, such protestations of justice and affected regret, that, to those unacquainted with his real disposition, he appears an amiable martyr to a sense of public duty. " Cecil," says Oldys, with great happiness of expression, " played a smooth edge upon Raleigh throughout the trial ; his blade seemed ever anointed with the balsam of compliment or apology, whereby he gave not such rough and smarting wounds [as Coke], though they were as deep and fatal as the other."*

There is a letter from the secretary to Sir John Harrington written in this year, and probably about the very time when he had accomplished the overthrow of his enemy, in which we have a remarkable picture of a mind distracted by a struggle between its desire to be honest, and its determination not to spoil its fortune.

" GOOD KNIGHT,—Rest content and give heed to one that hath sorrowed in the bright lustre of a court, and gone heavily even on the best seeming fair ground. *'Tis a great task to prove one's honesty, and yet not spoil one's fortune.* You have tasted a little hereof in our blessed queen's time, who was more than a man, and in troth somewhat less than a woman. I wish I waited now in your presence-chamber with ease at my food and rest in my bed. I am pushed from the shore of comfort, and know not where the winds and waves of a court will bear me. I know it bringeth little comfort on earth,

* Life, p. 334.

and he is, I reckon, no wise man that looketh that way to heaven.”

Perhaps it may be pronounced too conjectural, yet I am inclined to attribute to Cecil's conduct to Raleigh some portion of the feelings so eloquently described in this letter. The anticipated shipwreck of honesty ; the sorrow which clouded the fictitious lustre that surrounded him ; the heavy heart under his seeming fortune ; the sighs for a tranquil meal and a quiet sleep ; the complaint that he had been pushed from the shore of comfort ; and the dread with which he contemplated the loss of all happiness on earth and his hope of heaven, present in few words a picture of deep meaning. From his influence over the character of his master, he was at that moment perhaps the most powerful man in England : who would purchase such power at such a sacrifice !

But though we trace to Cecil the invention and execution of the plot to which Raleigh fell a victim, all who peruse the trial will admit that he had willing assistants in Coke and Lord Henry Howard. The attorney-general was undoubtedly the ablest lawyer at that period in England ; his acuteness must have detected the device by which Sir Walter was implicated, and the total want of proof against him. What are we then to think of the readiness with which he lent himself to overwhelm an innocent man ? To what cause are we to attribute his bitter abuse, the brutality of his manner, his torturing of the evidence, his overbearing conduct to the jury, which has to this day left a stain upon his memory ? I fear we must impute his behaviour to his desire of ingratiating himself with James, who from the first had shown a distaste to Raleigh, and with that powerful minister whom he regarded as the dispenser of those professional honours which formed the highest object of his ambition. Aware that a conviction would be grateful both to James and to Cecil, his sense of public virtue was too weak to support him in the path of duty. The same remarks, however, do not apply to the Chief-justice Popham, whose conduct

upon the trial is more to be ascribed to the defective state of the law of treason, which, as it then stood, was unreasonable and unjust, than to any strong or improper bias against the accused. It has been well remarked, that we must be careful to distinguish between a system which is imperfect and partial in its operations, but which a judge is bound to administer, and a system changed or perverted for political ends by the iniquity of its administrators.* An able lawyer, the Solicitor-general Hawles, draws an interesting parallel between this case and that of Lord Russel: "The circumstances of his [Raleigh's] trial," says he, "in which the court always overruled the prisoner, were somewhat like the Lord Russel's: he complained of the ill usage of the king's counsel, as well as the Lord Russel; and both had reason so to do. Hearsay was admitted to be given in evidence against both; all that either of them said for themselves, though very material, was slighted. The one was put in mind at his trial of the death of the Earl of Essex, as the other was of the death of the Viscount Stafford; both in their dying speeches vindicated themselves of those aspersions. The principal witnesses in both cases had, before the trials, affirmed they knew nothing against them; they were both accused with having heard what other persons had said in their company, and had not discovered it; they both gave the same answer, that they could not help other men's talk." The concluding remark of Hawles is material, as corroborating the opinion at which, from an impartial examination of the circumstances of this trial, we have arrived,—that the whole accusation brought against Raleigh was a pretended charge which had no foundation in reality: "I think," says he, "it is plain, at this day, that of Sir Walter Raleigh *is thought a sham plot*; what the Lord Russel's is thought, let the author say."†

Another of Raleigh's enemies, who sat on the trial as one of the commissioners, was Lord Henry Howard, son

* See the excellent observations of Mr Jardine, in the first volume of *Criminal Trials*, p. 513.

† *Oldys's Life*, p. 385.

of the accomplished Earl of Surrey ; a favourite instrument of Cecil, and employed by him, as we have seen, in the correspondence he carried on with James before the death of Elizabeth. His nature was composed of singular contradictions. He inherited the talents, the taste, and accomplishments of his father ; his manners were amiable ; his powers of flattery and insinuation refined ; his conversation captivating ; and in the midst of a brilliant and corrupted society his piety appeared so sincere, and his charities so noble and extensive, that he might almost have passed for the model of a virtuous courtier. Yet this same person was in reality a monster of wickedness and hypocrisy ; he assisted the infamous Rochester in the murder of Overbury ; his letters, which completely established his share in this dark transaction, contained such a mixture of ferocity and obscenity, that the chief-justice could not read them entire to the court. His religion, notwithstanding his endowment of almshouses and his writings on devotional subjects, was as vacillating as his ideas of self-interest. He was bred a Papist ; became a Protestant under Elizabeth ; reverted to Popery on the death of the queen ; to please the king again declared himself a member of the reformed church ; and died professing himself a Roman Catholic. Under these circumstances it is certainly difficult to say what Lord Henry was in his religious belief. When a man changes four times, we may, without any great breach of charity, doubt whether his last metamorphosis, if he had lived, would have been more permanent than those which preceded it. But it is certain that he was the determined enemy of the accused ; and even in the garbled report of the proceedings which has come down to us, enough of his malevolence appears to show that there was a sufficient reason for selecting him as a commissioner.

The conduct of Raleigh on the trial excited great admiration. He appears, probably from the share he had taken in the prosecution of Essex, to have been extremely unpopular at the time ; but, judging from the

letters of those who were present, a remarkable change was produced in his favour by the ability, courage, and temper with which he conducted his defence. One writer declares that he "behaved himself so worthily, so wisely, and so temperately, that in half a day the mind of all the company was changed from the extremest hate to the extremest pity." Another, who speaks also from personal observation, remarks that his manner and carriage upon the trial were worthy of all praise,—“to the lords humble, yet not prostrate; towards the jury affable, but not fawning, rather showing love of life than fear of death; towards the king's counsel patient, but not insensibly neglecting; not yielding to imputations laid against him in words: and it was wondered that a man of his heroic spirit could be so valiant in suffering.”



CHAPTER VI.

From Raleigh's first Confinement in the Tower to his Execution.

Extraordinary Pageant of an Execution in the Case of Markham and the Lords Grey and Cobham—Said to be the Invention of the King—Raleigh is reprieved and confined in the Tower—Reflections on his Character at this Period—His Pursuits in the Tower—His History of the World—His Chemical Studies—Lady Raleigh shares his Confinement—His Son Carew born in the Tower—His Estate of Sherborne given to the Favourite Carr, Earl of Somerset—Raleigh's Correspondence and Friendship with Prince Henry—His various Writings addressed to this Prince—On War—On the Naval Power of England—On the Match with Savoy—Death of Prince Henry—Raleigh's Sorrow at this Event—His History of the World—Criticism upon this great Work—Death of Secretary Cecil—Raleigh's Epitaph on this Statesman—He regains his Liberty—Scheme for the Settlement of Guiana—Remonstrances of the Spanish Court—Character of Gondomar—Account of the Expedition—Its unfortunate Issue—Raleigh's Return to England—Proclamation against him—Inveteracy of the Spanish Government—James's Resolution to sacrifice him—Raleigh's Attempt to Escape—Betrayed by Stukely and Manourie—Recommitted to the Tower—His Examination by the Commissioners—His Employments in Prison—Difficulties attending the Mode of executing the former Sentence—His Behaviour on the Scaffold—His Death—Reflections on his Character.

AFTER his condemnation Raleigh was kept nearly a month at Winchester, in the constant expectation of death. But the king, who thought highly of his own superior acuteness, had privately resolved on a singular

mode of discovering the more minute details of this supposed conspiracy, which the skill of his prime minister and attorney-general had failed to develop. He signed the warrants for the execution of Lords Cobham and Grey, and their accomplice Sir Griffin Markham, omitting Sir Walter for the present, but directing that he also should be informed that the warrant had been prepared.*

* It seems to have been at this period that Raleigh's quaint but in some places beautiful little poem was written, entitled

THE PILGRIMAGE.

" Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory (hope's true gage);
And thus I'll take my Pilgrimage.

" Blood must be my body's balmer,—
No other balm will here be given;
Whilst my soul, like quiet palmer,
Travels to the land of heaven,
Over all the silver mountains,
Where do spring those nectar fountains:

" And I there will sweetly kiss
The happy bowl of peaceful bliss,
Drinking mine eternal fill,
Flowing on each milky hill.
My soul will be a-dry before;
But after, it will thirst no more.

" In that happy blissful day
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,
That have doft their rags of clay,
And walk apparell'd fresh like me.
I'll take them first
To slake their thirst,
And then taste of nectar suckets,
At those clear wells
Where sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by saints in crystal buckets.

" And when our bottles, and all we
Are fill'd with immortality,
Then those holy paths we'll travel,
Strew'd with rubies thick as gravel;
Ceilings of diamonds, sapphire floors,
High walls of coral, and pearly bowers.

The three first were ordered to be executed on Friday ; Raleigh on Monday ; and, judging from the description of this tragi-comedy in a letter of Sir Dudley Carleton, who was a spectator, the scene must have been extraordinary. Markham came first on the scaffold, and after a few complaints of his hard fate, bade farewell to his friends, betook himself to his devotions, and was about to lay his neck upon the block, when a bustle was seen in the crowd, and John Gib, a Scotch groom of the bed-chamber, pressing forward, called out to stay the execution by the king's command. The prisoner was accordingly withdrawn, and locked up in an adjoining hall. "The Lord Grey," says the same writer, "whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends ; and, coming in such equipage, had such gayety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom." Having confessed his fault, and asked pardon of the king, he knelt down and prayed with much fervency ; after which he was about to

From thence to Heaven's bribeless hall,
 Where no corrupted voices brawl,—
 No conscience molten into gold ;
 No forged accuser bought or sold ;
 No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent journey,
 For there Christ is the king's attorney ;
 Who pleads for all without degrees,—
 And he hath angels—but no fees.
 And when the grand twelve-million jury
 Of our sins, with direful fury,
 'Gainst our souls black verdicts give,
 Christ pleads his death ; and then we live.
 Be Thou my speaker, taintless pleader,
 Unblotted lawyer, true proceeder !
 Thou givest salvation even for alms,
 Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.
 Then this is mine eternal plea,
 To him that made heaven, earth, and sea ;
 Seeing my flesh must die so soon,
 And want a head to dine next noon,
 Just at the stroke of death, my arms being spread,
 Set on my soul an everlasting head,
 So shall I ready, like a palmer fit,
 Tread those blessed paths shown in thy Holy Writ."

undress, and the executioner deemed it was his time to begin, when the sheriff opportunely interposed; and, waving off the last officer of the law, informed his lordship that it was the king's desire he should step aside for an hour into the same hall where Markham was shut up, and give precedence to Cobham. This prisoner came now upon the stage with good assurance. His former conduct had been so contemptible and abject, that all were surprised to see his present firmness; but Cecil had undertaken to stand his friend, and he had probably some idea that this was not his last act.* Be this as it may, he briefly declared that what he said of Raleigh was true,—an assertion which, as his stories had been various and contradictory, did not go for much; and having shortly bade the world adieu, he was about to unbutton his doublet, when the sheriff once more interfered, and bade him defer a while, for something else yet remained to be done. Grey and Markham were then brought back to the scaffold, all “looking strange upon one another, like men beheaded and met again in the other world.” A short speech was next addressed to them on the heinousness of their offences, and the lawfulness of their condemnation. To this they bowed in token of assent. “Now,” said the sheriff, “see the mercy of your prince, who of himself hath sent hither to countermand, and given you your lives.” “There was then no need,” says Dudley, “to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that it went from the castle into the tower, and there began afresh.”

It is easy to imagine the delight which the king experienced in the invention and evolution of this stratagem, though it failed in its main object, the eliciting of additional evidence against Raleigh. Sir Dudley Carleton's observations are so characteristic of James's manner, and his style of eloquence, when the British Solomon, as he delighted to hear himself called, communicated it to his

* See Remarks at the end of the volume.

courtiers, that we make no apology for transcribing them. "This resolution was taken by the king without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praise of yesterday's action ; for the lords knew no other, but that execution was to go forward, till the very hour it should be performed ; and then, calling them before him, he told them how much he had been troubled to resolve in this business ; for to execute Grey, who was a noble young spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had shown great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism ; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, still travelling in contrarieties, but holding the conclusion in so different a balance, that the lords knew not what to look for till the end came out,—' And therefore I have saved them all.' The miracle was as great there as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect ; for the applause that began about the king, went from thence into the presence [chamber], and so round about the court."*

Raleigh had been warned, as we have seen, to prepare for execution ; and, at the king's desire, he was visited by the Bishop of Winchester, who found him exceedingly calm, and in a Christian frame of mind. On being pressed, however, by this prelate, to make his confession, he strongly asserted his innocence of all the charges urged by Cobham, only excepting the pension, "which he said was once mentioned, but never proceeded in ;" and having in vain made another appeal to the king, petitioning for mercy, he resigned himself to the expectation of death.† It was under these circumstances that he addressed the following beautiful letter to his wife :—

"You shall now receive, my dear wife, my last words, in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you

* Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. i. p. 377. Cayley, vol. ii. p. 75.

† Cayley, vol. ii. p. 71.

may keep it when I am dead ; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows, dear Bess,—let them go into the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing that it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself.

“ First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words can express, for your many travails and care taken for me ; which, though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less. But pay it I never shall in this world. Secondly, I beseech you for the love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many days after my death ; but by your travail seek to help your miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child. Thy mournings cannot avail me,—I am but dust. Thirdly, You shall understand that my land was conveyed *bona fide* to my child. The writings were drawn at midsummer was twelve-months,—my honest cousin, Brett, can testify so much, and Dalberrie, too, can remember somewhat therein ; and I trust my blood will quench their malice that have thus cruelly murdered me, and that they will not seek also to kill thee and thine with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial ; and I plainly perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, God knows, that being thus surprised with death, I can leave you in no better estate. God is my witness I meant you all my office of wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it : half my stuff and all my jewels,—but [except] some one for the boy. But God hath prevented all my resolutions, even that great God that ruleth all in all. But if you can live free from want care for no more—the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on him ; and therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endless comfort. For the rest, when you have travailed and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogi-

tations, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to love and fear God while he is yet young, that the fear of God may grow up with him, and then God will be a husband to you, and a father to him, —a husband and a father that cannot be taken from you. Bayley oweth me £200, and Adrian Gilbert £600. In Jersey, also, I have much money owing me. Besides, the arrearages of the wines will pay my debts ; and howsoever you do, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men.

“ When I am gone no doubt you shall be sought to by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men, and their affections, for they last not but in honest and worthy men ; and no greater misery can befall you in this life than to become a prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade you from marriage ; for it will be best for you both in respect of the world and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine. Death has cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours that I desired life. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it ; for know it, dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, and one who in his own respect despiseth death, and all his misshapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much. God he knoweth how hardly I steal this time while others sleep ; and it is also high time that I should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied thee, and either lay it at Sherborne, if the land continue, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can say no more,—time and death call me away.

“ The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, who is goodness itself, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers, and send us to meet

in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife, farewell! Bless my poor boy; pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms! Written with the dying hand of some time thy husband, but now, alas! overthrown.—Yours that was, but now not my own,—

“WALTER RALEIGH.”

This letter, of which the manliness, the simplicity, and pathos, are so deeply affecting, furnishes, perhaps, the best reply to the coarse and cruel accusations thrown out against him by Coke and Popham, as if he had been a bold disbeliever in the being and attributes of God.

Its exact date does not appear; but it was probably written a short time before the extraordinary melodrama at Winchester, which has been just described. Raleigh looked from a window which commanded a view of the scaffold, and we may easily conceive his astonishment when one victim was removed at the moment the axe was about to descend, and another substituted, who, after certain ceremonies, was as quickly withdrawn. The shouts, however, which accompanied the reprieve must have inspired him with hope; and this was soon realized by an intimation that he had been included in it with the other prisoners. On the 15th of December he was remanded, along with Cobham, Grey, and Markham, to the Tower.* At the earnest solicitation of his wife, she and her son were permitted to remain with him in prison; and so faithfully did this affectionate woman continue her attendance, that their youngest child, Carew, was born within the walls of the fortress. He was allowed also to have two servants and a boy; whilst Mr Hawthorn, a preacher, his physician, Dr Turner, the steward of Sherborne, and Mr Thomas Hariot,

* The fate of Cobham, whose falsehood was the cause of all Raleigh's calamities, was peculiarly miserable. After being confined many years, he was enlarged only to die of starvation in a garret where he was harboured by a poor man who had formerly been his servant at court.*

* Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 37.

were not excluded, at convenient times when he wished to consult them.*

Sir Walter Raleigh had now to commence his life as a prisoner. The Tower was to be his home ; and in some respects he was the best, in others the worst fitted man for such a habitation. His love of study, his varied mental resources, the stores of observation he had laid up in his travels, and his experience of the vanity and fickleness of the world,—all prepared him to enjoy retirement and contemplation. “ His mind to him a kingdom was,”—a noble possession, stored with moral and intellectual riches, which rendered him to a great degree independent of society and liberty. Those hours which before he had to steal from business or sleep, to enjoy his books, or his studies, were now all his own ; no court intrigues ; no unseasonable interruptions ; no summonses from royalty ; no busy progresses or brilliant pageants ; no deliberations at the council or discussions in the parliament ; nothing of the excitement of war, or discovery, or peril, broke the even and tranquil tenor of his existence. As he was permitted the company of his wife and children, with the occasional visits of a few friends, he might almost have forgotten that he was a prisoner. But the mind of this remarkable man was so constituted as to render restraint peculiarly irksome. It was indeed full of profound thought : but this thought had been cultivated during forty years of incessant activity ; and the habits of so long a period could not be easily changed for almost perfect solitude. He had read more than most students ; his books had been carried with him on his campaigns and voyages,—they were his companions in the tent and in the cabin. And the friends with whom one may pass a delightful hour, snatched with difficulty from public duties, may become fatiguing when circumstances deprive us of other companions. He had written much, and his love of literature was ardent. But the subjects of his writings were his own adventures ; he

* Cayley's Life, vol. ii. p. 85.

had been, as he himself expressed it, "a soldier, a sea-captain, and a courtier," he might have added, an active politician at home, an envoy to foreign courts, a discoverer of new countries, a planter of colonies; and, though now fifty-one, his constitution both of mind and body were uncommonly strong and vigorous. Ambition, against which he had written so eloquently when death was near, began to beat high when he saw himself once more restored to hope. He trusted that, if liberated, his services might yet procure pardon; and his inventive mind was occupied with schemes to recommend himself to his sovereign, and by which he might ultimately obtain restoration to his fortunes.

In the mean time it became necessary to reconcile himself to the change in his situation; and he did so with his accustomed manly and cheerful disposition. He began his *History of the World*,—that great work which will be as permanent as the English language,—he amused himself in transforming a small house in the Tower garden into a laboratory. There he carried on his chemical experiments, and, as we read in one of Sir William Wade's Letters, "spent all the day in distillations." His efforts were unremitting to arrange his affairs, which had fallen into disorder from his late troubles. By his attainder his moveable estate was forfeited; but through the favour of the king, who, at the commencement of his imprisonment, seems to have treated him with lenity, it was consigned to trustees appointed by himself for the benefit of his family and creditors.* Unfortunately, Wade, the Lieutenant of the Tower, was a creature of Cecil, and of course nowise disposed to grant his prisoner any particular indulgence; but for a considerable period he lived as comfortably as was compatible with the loss of freedom. Between his family, his books, his experiments, and the occasional visits of his friends, time glided on in progressive knowledge and content-

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 569.

ment.* But this bright season was soon destined to be overclouded. His enemies, not contented with the evil they had already brought upon him, renewed their efforts to complete his ruin; and unhappily the king's mind was of that weak and capricious cast which received an easy bias from interested persons. The first indication of change seems to have been conveyed to him when James sent for the seal of the high public offices he had held under Elizabeth, as warden of the Stanneries, captain of her guard, and governor of Jersey. This he immediately returned, accompanied by a letter, in which he strongly protested his innocence, and besought the king for a favourable consideration of his case. "If," said he, "I be here restrained till the powers both of my body and mind shall be so enfeebled, as I cannot hope to do your majesty some acceptable and extraordinary service, whereby I may truly approve my faith and intentions to my sovereign, Lord God doth know that then it had been happiest for me to have died long since."† So little impression was made by this affecting appeal, that it was followed by a far more severe blow. His estate of Sherborne, which, in his prosperous days, he had taken so much delight in improving, had been settled by him, in the close of Elizabeth's reign, on his eldest son, and the king, notwithstanding his attainder, had granted him a liferent interest in it. The conveyance of this property was now scrutinized with eyes sharpened by avarice and malignity. The deed was referred for examination to the same chief-justice who sat on the trial; and this dignitary decided that, from the clerk having omitted some words, it was invalid. Robert Carr, the king's new favourite, afterwards the notorious Earl of Somerset, was

* Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England, pp. 93, 94.

† See the letter, printed for the first time from the original in the State-paper Office, by Mrs Thomson, Appendix, letter R. Raleigh's seal I had the good fortune to meet with in the collection of ancient seals made by an ingenious artist in Edinburgh, Mr Laing. He had taken an impression from a cast, communicated to him by Mr Cayley; and a fac-simile of it has been engraved for the title-page of this work.

easily persuaded to take advantage of this legal flaw, and to solicit the estate ; and so infatuated was James's attachment to this weak courtier, that Raleigh, from the moment he heard the circumstances, knew he had only to expect spoliation. This, however, did not prevent him from attempting to avert the calamity by a letter of remonstrance to the favourite : It is written in a tone of manly expostulation.

“ SIR,—After some great losses and many years' sorrows (of both which I have cause to fear I was mistaken in the end), it is come to my knowledge that yourself, whom I know not but by an honourable fame, hath been persuaded to give me and mine our last fatal blow, by obtaining from his majesty the inheritance of my children and nephews, lost in the law for want of a word. This done, there remaineth nothing with me but the name of life ; despoiled of all else but the title and sorrow thereof. His majesty, whom I never offended (for I hold it unnatural and unmanlike to hate goodness), stayed me at the grave's brink, not, as I hope, that he thought me worthy of many deaths, and to behold all mine cast out of the world with myself ; but as a king who, judging the poor in truth, hath received a promise from God that his throne shall be established for ever.

“ And for yourself, sir, seeing your fair day is but now in the dawn, and mine drawn to the evening, your own virtues and the king's grace assuring you of many favours and much honour, I beseech you not to begin your first building upon the ruins of the innocent, and that their sorrows with mine may not attend your first plantation. I have been ever bound to your nation, as well for many other graces as for the true report of my trial to the king's majesty, against whom, had I been found malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compassion, and the minds of the greatest number then present into the commiseration of mine estate. It is not the nature of foul treason to beget such fair passions ; neither could

it agree with the duty and love of faithful subjects, especially of your nation, to bewail his overthrow who had conspired against their most natural and liberal lord. I therefore trust, sir, that you will not be the first who shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curse of them that enter the fields of the fatherless,—which, if it pleases you to know the truth, is far less in value than in fame,—but that so worthy a gentleman as yourself will rather bind us to you (being, sir, gentlemen not base in birth and alliance), who have interest therein. And myself, with my uttermost thankfulness, will ever remain ready to obey your commands.

“WALTER RALEIGH.”*

This letter produced no effect on the profligate Somerset; nor was its tone suited to move a monarch like James, if indeed it ever came under his eye. The case was brought on, and Sherborne forfeited to the crown,—a judgment easily foreseen, as the law then stood, and considering the parties were a friendless prisoner and the King of England.† On this occasion Lady Raleigh, a woman of high spirit and unchangeable affection, who had laboured in every way to alleviate her husband's misfortunes, threw herself on her knees before his majesty, attended by her children, and with tears implored him not to forget his most glorious attribute of mercy. James received her coldly, and gave no other answer than “I maun have the land—I maun have it for Carr.” On this she prayed in bitterness of soul, that God would punish those cruel and unjust persons who had brought ruin on her husband and his house. So little, indeed, did intercession avail, that not only was Sherborne given to the favourite, but Pinford, Primesly, and Barton, lands which Sir Walter had purchased, were escheated and bestowed in the same quarter.

* Cayley, vol. ii. pp. 87, 88.

† Carew Raleigh's Brief Relation of his Father's Troubles. Miscellaneous Works of Raleigh, vol. viii. p. 788.

Against this undeserved severity Henry, James's eldest son, and heir-apparent to the throne, strongly remonstrated, interceding for the illustrious prisoner, in whose talents and misfortunes he had become much interested. This prince, from the contrast presented, by his excellent dispositions, to the character of his father, and the burst of national regret that followed his death, has perhaps been the subject of exaggerated panegyric. But making every allowance for the praises which a generous people lavish under such circumstances, Henry must still have been a youth of uncommon talents and promise. He was well able to appreciate the tyranny to which Raleigh had fallen a victim. Acute in the detection and indignant at the triumph of hypocrisy, he had imbibed an early aversion to Cecil, which not all the insinuating flattery of that pliant statesman was able to remove.* Not contented with censuring the conduct of those concerned in the trial, he endeavoured to soften the cruelty of the sentence. He corresponded with the condemned, expressed a desire to profit by his experience in civil and military policy, and courted his instructions regarding the maintenance and due regulation of the navy. Navigation was one of the prince's favourite studies; the building, rigging, sailing, and fighting of ships formed with him a subject of diligent inquiry and experiment. Unlike his timid father, Henry esteemed a readiness for war and a jealousy of national honour the best preservative of peace; and, contemplating hostilities with Spain, he meditated great designs against the West Indies, and the mother country itself, for executing which a powerful fleet would be required. These opinions entirely coincided with those of Sir Walter, who, in his discourses on such subjects addressed to his youthful patron, eloquently answers the objections to the support of a warlike fleet in time of peace. "Though the sword," says he, "is put into the sheath, we must not suffer it to rust, or stick so fast that we shall not be able

* Birch's Life of Prince Henry, pp. 76, 109, 138.

to draw it readily when need requires. * * We may be assured, that if those powerful means whereby we reduced our enemies to the courtesy of seeking peace of us were neglected, so as we could not again, upon occasion, readily assume the use and benefit of them as we have done ; those proud mastering spirits, finding us at such advantage, would be more willing to shake us by the ears as enemies than to take us by the hands as friends. Therefore, far be it from our hearts to trust more to that friendship of strangers, which is but dissembled upon policy and necessity, than to the strength of our own forces, which has been experienced with so happy success. I confess that peace is a blessing of God, and blessed are the peacemakers ; therefore, doubtless, blessed are those means whereby peace is gained and maintained : * * the which means of our defence and safety, being shipping and sea-forces, are to be esteemed as His gifts, and then only available and beneficial when he withal vouchsafes his grace to use them aright.”*

Raleigh was no advocate for war in general ; his ambition was not for conquest but security : all wanton outrage, or unnecessary invasions on the territories of another power, he proscribes as idle and wicked. “ It may be affirmed,” says he, “ the number of those that have been slaughtered by their fellow-creatures exceeds the number of all the inhabitants that ever were at one time living upon the face of the earth ; yet very few of this infinite number, thus untimely slain, were ever masters of the grounds of the disputes for which they suffered, or the true reason of their being led to the battle ; the truth, with much artifice, being kept from all but what were parties to the design resolved on. What deluded wretches, then, have a great part of mankind been, who have either yielded themselves to be slain in causes which, if truly known, their hearts would abhor, or been the bloody executioners of other men’s ambition ! It is a hard fate to be slain for what a man should never

* Raleigh’s Essays, p. 44.

willingly fight ; yet few soldiers have laid themselves down in the bed of honour under better circumstances.”*

In another Essay the true security of a monarch is shown to rest on three great grounds,—the love of his subjects, the justice of his administration, and lastly, the perfection of his martial discipline. The sentence in which this is laid down is a fine specimen of a masculine and pure English style :—“ They say, that the goodliest cedars, which grow on the high mountains of Libanus, thrust their roots between the clefts of hard rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As nature has instructed those kings of trees, so has reason taught the kings of men to root themselves in the hardy hearts of their faithful subjects. And as those kings of trees have large tops, so have the kings of men large crowns ; whereof, as the first would soon be broken from their bodies were they not underborne by many branches, so would the other easily totter were they not fastened on their heads with the strong chains of civil justice and of martial discipline.”†

About this time the prince determined to build a ship at his own expense, and consulted Raleigh, who replied in a letter which proves how closely he had studied the minutest parts of the subject. He first recommends that the intended vessel should be of smaller dimensions than the Victory, in which case the timber of the old ship would serve for the new. “ If she be bigger,” says he, “ she will be of less use, go very deep to water, and of mighty charge, our channels decaying every year ; less nimble, less manageable, and seldom to be used : *Grande navio, grande fatica*, saith the Spaniard.” He then points out the requisites of a “ well-conditioned ship.” First, it is necessary that she be strong built ; 2d, Swift in sail ; 3d, Stout-sided ; 4th, Her ports ought to be so laid that she may carry out her guns all weathers ; 5th, She ought to hull well ; 6th, She should stay well when boarding or turning on a wind is required. On these

* Three Discourses, p. 110.

† Raleigh's Remains, p. 116.

heads he dilates at great length. One short passage will show the precision of his remarks :—" It is to be noted, that all ships sharp before, not having a long floor, will fall rough into the sea from a billow, and take in water over head and ears ; and the same quality have all narrow-quartered ships to sink after the tail. The high charging of ships is that that brings many ill qualities : it makes them extreme leeward, makes them sink deep into the seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and oftentimes overset. Safety is more to be respected than shows, or niceness for ease ; in sea-journeys both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen. Two decks and a half is enough, and no building at all above that but a low master's cabin. Our masters and mariners will say, that the ships will bear more well enough ; and true it is, if none but ordinary mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rolling and tumbling from side to side, where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high charging. Besides, those high cabin-works aloft are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters. Above all other things, have care that the great guns be four feet clear above water when all lading is in, or else those best pieces are idle at sea : for if the ports lie lower and be open, it is dangerous ; and by that default was a goodly ship and many gallant gentlemen lost in the days of Henry VIII. before the Isle of Wight, in a ship called by the name of Mary Rose."*

These directions are given in a more enlarged form in a discourse entitled " Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service," from the first sentence of which it appears that he had addressed to his royal pupil an " Essay on a Maritimal Voyage, and the Passages and Incidents therein," which is unfortunately lost. The observations display the accuracy and confidence

* Letter to Prince Henry, touching the model of a Ship. Miscellaneous Works, vol. viii. p. 627.

of an experienced sailor; and to those curious in the antiquities of our naval history, who would compare the tactics under Elizabeth and James with those of the present day, the remarks on shipbuilding, selecting officers, harbouring the navy, on the ordnance, on caulking and sheathing, victualling, placing of the cook-rooms in the forecastles, on arms and munition, and on the system of pressing able mariners, must be valuable in no common degree. To the general reader the subject is not particularly attractive.

About the same time Raleigh appears to have been consulted on the expediency of a double matrimonial alliance, proposed by the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy. As a consort for the Prince of Wales this potentate offered his eldest daughter, and solicited the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, James's only daughter, for his son the Prince of Piedmont. Against both matches he strongly protested in two Discourses written by command of Henry, in which he proves that such an alliance would be either totally useless or extremely hazardous and expensive. "All the good," says he, "our King of England can expect from Savoy is, that he must either abandon his son-in-law, if either France or Spain oppress him, which were too great a dishonour, or he must enter into a war for his defence, which were too great a charge. And his majesty doth well know, that while the league stands between him and the Low Countries, that he is invincible by them, and they by him; and that all other petty combinations will be rather chargeable than profitable."*

Touching the dignity of the English princess, Raleigh esteems her rank too high for the wife of a duke of Savoy; being "born the eldest, and now the only daughter of one of the mightiest kings of Christendom; * * and by nature and education endowed with such princely perfections both of body and mind, as that she may well deserve to be reputed a worthy spouse for the greatest

* Miscellaneous Works, vol viii. p. 226.

monarch. * * And, therefore," says he, "for his majesty of England to match his eldest and only daughter with a prince which hath his dependence upon other kings,—a prince *jesuited*, which can neither stead us in time of war, nor trade with us in time of peace,—a prince, by the situation of his country, every way unprofitable unto us, and no less perilous for his child to live in ; I resolve myself, that his majesty is of too excellent a judgment ever to accept of it, and his honourable council too wise and prudent to advise the prosecution thereof."*

The Discourse on the marriage of the prince is the more powerfully written of the two, and contains a detection of the ambitious policy of Spain ; the broad principle being first laid down, that the interests of his Catholic majesty and the duke are inseparable, and that the latter dare not offend the pope nor the emperor. "There is," says Raleigh, "a kind of noble and royal deceiving in marriages between kings and princes ; yea, and it is of all others the fairest and most unsuspected trade of betraying. It has been as ordinary amongst them to adventure or cast away a daughter to bring some purpose to pass, as at other times for saving of charges to make them nuns. I speak not this to prejudice or forejudge so worthy a prince as the Duke of Savoy. * * He cannot betray us till we trust him. There is nothing of ours near him, nor of his near us. It is the Spaniard that is to be feared,—the Spaniard who layeth his pretences and practices with a long hand. In which respect it were not amiss to consider of the plots of our English priests, who, not long since, have published and printed certain far-fetched titles, both of the king of Spain and of the infanta his daughter ; for it were a horrible dishonour to be overreached by any of those dry and subtle-headed Spaniards."† Into this examination we shall not follow our author ; but in his observations on the national strength of Spain one sentence

* Miscellaneous Works, vol. viii. pp. 234, 236. † Ibid. p. 239.

strikingly illustrates the errors into which Elizabeth was led by the parsimony of her ministers. "For Spain, it is a proverb of their own, that the lion is not so fierce as he is painted. His forces in all parts of the world (but the Low Countries), are far under the fame: and if the late queen would have believed her men of war as she did her scribes, we had in her time beaten that great empire in pieces, and made their kings kings of figs and oranges, as in old times. But her majesty did all by halves, and by petty invasions taught the Spaniard how to defend himself, and to see his own weakness.

* * Four thousand men would have taken from him all the ports of his Indies: I mean all his ports by which his treasure doth or can pass. He is more hated in that part of the world by the sons of the conquered than the English are by the Irish. We were too strong for him at sea, and had the Hollanders to help us, who are now strongest of all. Yea, in eighty-eight, when he made his great and fearful fleet, if the queen would have hearkened to reason, we had burnt all his ships and preparations in his own ports as we did afterwards upon the same intelligence and doubt in Cadiz. He that knows him not, fears him; but, excepting his Low Country army, which hath been continued and disciplined since Charles V.'s time, he is nowhere strong. They are but fables spoken of him elsewhere; and what can the Low Country's army do if the Indies pay them not, but mutiny and spoil his own territories?"*

Raleigh finds a strong argument against the alliance with Savoy, in the effects it must have in increasing the jealousies between this country and the Netherlands. These last had cooled towards England, as was natural, since she had made peace without them; and though the latest to lay down arms, they obtained terms far more noble and honourable. "Since that time," says he, "they have neglected us by degrees. Let us look to it with all the eyes we have; for to which of the three

* Miscellaneous Works, vol. viii. pp. 246, 247.

those people fasten themselves, to England, France, or Spain, he that hath them will become the greatest, and give the law to the rest. If any man doubt it, he knows not much ; but this hath been our own fault, and the detested covetousness of some great ones of ours. For whereas, in my time, I have known one of her majesty's ships command forty of theirs to strike sail, they will now take us one to one and not give us a good-morrow ; they master us both in their number and in their mariners ; and they have our own ordnance to break our own bones withal. We had good reason to help them, but not to set them up to that height, as to make them able to tread upon our own heads."* In objecting to an alliance with Florence as strongly as to that with Savoy, he derides the argument against a marriage with the house of Medici, as if it were of mean descent. "The Medici," says he, "were ancient—ancient in virtue and in fame. It is true, that long ago they were merchants ; and so was King Solomon too. The kings in old times had their herdsmen, their shepherds, and their ploughmen ; they traded with nature and with the earth,—a trade by which all that breathe upon the earth live. All the nobility and gentry in Europe trade their grass, and corn, and cattle, their vines, and their fruits : they trade them to their tenants at home, and other merchants adventure them abroad. The king of Spain is now the greatest merchant : the King of Portugal was."†

The Discourse, which displays great abilities in this species of composition, concludes with an advice to the prince to keep in view a union with a daughter of France, as by far the wisest and most politic connexion. "Now," says he, "if, by these dislikes of the former alliances, you make judgment that it is my desire that the prince should not marry at all ; I say, my desire is not, that he should not marry at all, but not as yet ; and I am exceeding sorry the prince hath not the same desire.

* Works, vol. viii. p. 248.

† Ibid. p. 249.

For, seeing his majesty is yet but young, and by God's favour like to live very many years ; and that his highness, if he should now marry, may have many children born unto him before he be thirty years old ; and seeing all his children shall be princes, and must be provided for as princes ; I think it will much perplex him to find himself so environed, till his majesty have somewhat repaired his estate, and provided beautiful gardens fit to plant these olive branches in."* In recommending such a wife to Henry, Raleigh, in a passage of uncommon vigour, points out the causes of enmity between France and Spain, and the certain claim which an alliance with the former country will give England to the friendship of the Low Countries. "There was," says he, "never a nation had so much cause to hate another as France hath to hate Spain. They hold from him the kingdom of Navarre, without so much as the colour of a title ; they betrayed him in Naples, and did not overcome their army there, but murdered it after a peace proclaimed. They hold Milan from them by strong hand ; and after that Charles V. (to have leave to pass through France into Flanders to pacify the tumults of Ghent) had promised the French king to restore it, the emperor derided him, and said he promised him *milan*, which is the French word for a kite. They have betrayed them in many offers of marriages ; they poisoned the dauphin at Viennoys ; they have murdered their ambassadors ; they displaced them in Florida, and contrary to faith, killed the possessors in cold blood. They tore Strozza in pieces at Terceres ; they set the subjects of Henry III. and Henry IV. against them ; they invaded France, possessed Paris and most of the cities of France, and, in conclusion, practised to murder both these kings. Now, if these injuries be not far more memorable than marriageable, let the world judge."† At the moment when this was written a matrimonial alliance was about to be formed between France and Spain, which explains this last

* Works, vol. viii. p. 250.

† Ibid. p. 251.

observation. "By holding France," he concludes, "we hold the Low Countries, which will make us invincible; for they dare not abandon us both. On the contrary, although these princes apart and disunited are not (as before is said) to be feared, yet were it a needless hazard to neglect the love of France, and to sustain the hatred of the archduke, of the pope, and of the King of Spain,—a hatred more than immortal (if more can be) to our nation and state."*

In these Discourses Raleigh exhibits an accurate estimate of the true sources of the greatness of England; a deep practical knowledge of the history of Europe; and a masterly sagacity in unfolding the aggrandizing schemes of Spain.

At this period, when his life as a prisoner in the Tower gave him a full command of time, his pursuits were various; politics, philosophy, history, chemistry, poetry, all shared his attention, and to all he brought an original and inventive mind. Nor did this gloomy abode altogether want society, some of its inmates being men of rank and genius. The eccentric Earl of Northumberland was imprisoned there at the same time with Raleigh, and continued within its walls for fifteen years—during which period he established a literary and philosophical society in his apartments, and diverted the melancholy confinement by keeping an open table for such men of learning and ingenuity as were permitted to visit him. Piercy, who had been shut up on a suspicion of having some concern in the Gunpowder Treason,† was a mathematician, a chemist, an astrologer, and a humorist. Splendid in his entertainments, and lavish of his immense wealth, he was ready to pay any sum for the company and conversation of men of genius. Hariot, Raleigh's master in the mathematics, Hughes, who wrote on the globes, and Warner, a scholar addicted to the same studies, received pensions from the earl, and from the constancy with which they assisted their noble patron in

* Works, vol. viii. p. 252.

† Kennet's History of England, vol. ii. p. 719.

his chemical experiments and astronomical calculations, received the names of his Three Magi.* Sergeant Hoskins the poet, whom Ben Jonson mentions as "the person who had polished him," was confined in the Tower about the same time, and whilst Sir Walter pursued his chemical researches with Northumberland and the Magi, he conversed on poetry, philosophy, and literature, with Hoskins. He had transformed, as we have seen, a small house in the garden into a laboratory, where he devoted many of his hours to chemistry, and in the course of his experiments prepared that cordial which enjoyed so high a reputation in the time of Charles II., that he not only commanded his apothecary, Nicholas le Fébure, to compound a quantity of this "precious remedy," but to write and publish a treatise concerning it, which was entitled *Discours sur le Grand Cordial de Sir Walter Raleigh*. Some ingredients were afterwards added by Sir Kenelm Digby, and it was used with good effect by Boyle. Fébure appears to have been little better than a quack, if we may judge from his hyperbolical compliments. Sir Walter, he says, being a worthy successor of Mithridates, Matheolus, B. Valentine, Paracelsus, and others, has, he affirms, selected all that is choicest in the animal, vegetable, and mineral world, and moreover manifested so much art and experience in the preparation of this great and admirable cordial as will of itself render him immortal.† Notwithstanding this flight of the king's druggist, Raleigh was probably an accomplished chemist in those days when the science was in its infancy; and in the British Museum is preserved a MS. of various processes and recipes, which amply prove the care he had bestowed on such investigations. Nor did his severer studies prevent his being visited in the durance of the Tower by the muses, who taught their votary how to find a consolation for some of his dark and melancholy prison-hours. His subjects were graver and holier than

* Biographia Britannica, article Hariot.

† Oldys's Life, p. 414.

the songs of his freedom, but his lyre had lost nothing of its sweetness. It was probably about the same time that this fine hymn was composed :—

“ Rise, O my soul, with thy desires to Heaven,
 And with divinest contemplation use
 Thy time, where time’s eternity is given,
 And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts abuse ;
 But down in darkness let them lie ;
 So live thy better, let thy worse thoughts die.

“ And thou, my soul, inspired with holy flame,
 View and review, with most regardful eye,
 That holy cross, whence thy salvation came,
 On which thy Saviour and thy sin did die !
 For in that sacred object is much pleasure,
 And in that Saviour is my life, my treasure.

“ To thee, O Jesu ! I direct my eye,
 To thee my hands, to thee my humble knees,
 To thee my heart shall offer sacrifice,
 To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only sees :
 To thee myself, myself and all I give,
 To thee I die, to thee I only live !”

Making allowance for their occasional quaintness, the fault not of the writer but of the age, there are few who will not in these small pieces recognise that fiery stamp which marks the true gold of the imagination from its counterfeit.

It is said to have been an observation of Prince Henry, that none but his father would keep such a bird in a cage. In return for this generous opinion, Sir Walter was deeply interested in all that concerned the prince’s welfare. He had detected in him a love of popularity, —a thirst of praise,—which presented to the parasites of a court a dangerous weakness. He knew the principles of arbitrary rule, those dogmas regarding the divine right of kings, which were the favourite talk of his father, and his penetration discerned those notions of liberty with which the Puritans were preparing to discuss the origin of government and the privileges of the people. Aware of this, he is said to have warned the future heir of the crown against any overstrained exercise of the royal prerogative ; and Sir Richard Steele has preserved, and unhesitatingly ascribes to Raleigh, a letter to the prince

on this subject.* It is a spirited production, but evidently a fabrication of this lively writer. Its sentiments

* Sir Richard Steele's *Englishman*, p. 9.—The merit of this letter is so great, that the reader may be pleased to see it introduced here :—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—The following sheets are addressed to your highness from a man who values his liberty and a very small fortune in a remote part of this island, under the present constitution, above all the riches and honours that he could any where enjoy under any other establishment. You see, sir, the doctrines that are lately come into the world, and how far the phrase has obtained of calling your royal father God's Vicegerent, which ill men have turned both to the dishonour of God and the impeachment of his majesty's goodness. They adjoin the vicegerency to the idea of being all powerful, and not to that of being all good. His majesty's wisdom, it is to be hoped, will save him from the snare that may lie under gross adulations ; but your youth, and the thirst of praise which I have observed in you, may possibly mislead you to hearken to these charmers who would conduct your noble nature into tyranny. Be careful, O my prince ! hear them not ; fly from their deceits. You are in the succession to a throne from whence no evil can be imputed to you, but all good must be conveyed by you. Your father is called the Vicegerent of Heaven. While he is good he is the Vicegerent of Heaven. Shall man have authority from the fountain of good to do evil ? No, my prince ! Let mean and degenerate spirits, which want benevolence, suppose their power impaired by a disability of doing injuries. If want of power to do ill be an incapacity in a prince, with reverence be it spoken, it is an incapacity he has in common with the Deity.

“Let me not doubt but all plans which do not carry in them the mutual happiness of prince and people, will appear as absurd to your great understanding as disagreeable to your noble nature. Exert yourself, O generous prince ! against such sycophants in the glorious cause of liberty, and assume an ambition worthy of you, to secure your fellow-creatures from slavery,—from a condition as much below that of brutes, as to act without reason is less miserable than to act against it. Preserve to your future subjects the divine right of being free agents, and to your own royal house the divine right of being their benefactors. Believe me, my prince, there is no other right can flow from God. While your highness is forming yourself for a throne, consider the laws as so many commonplaces in your study of the science of government. When you mean nothing but justice they are an ease and help to you. This way of thinking is what gave men the glorious appellatives of deliverers and fathers of their country. This made the sight of them rouse their beholders into acclamations, and made mankind incapable of bearing their

and style are both much in advance of the period to which he refers it.

Raleigh's greatest work, written during his imprisonment and published in 1614, was the *History of the World*,—an extraordinary monument of human labour and genius, and which, in the vastness of its subject, its research and learning, the wisdom of its political reflections, and the beauties of its style, has not been equalled by any writer of this, or perhaps of any other country. This will appear the more wonderful if we recollect the circumstances under which it was completed,—not in the luxury of lettered and philosophic ease, which has been the lot of some historians, surrounded by books and friends, but in imprisonment, solitude, and sorrow, under the disadvantage of finding with difficulty the necessary materials; not in the enthusiastic consciousness of unimpaired powers, but with a mind which had been harassed by a cruel persecution, and sickened by hope deferred. To give any thing like a satisfactory criticism or analysis of this history within the limits of a volume like this is impossible; and, perhaps, in these days of abridgments and epitomes, any recommendation of a work so vast may be considered ridiculous. Yet let us hear the eloquent author plead his own apology:—"How unfit and how unworthy a choice I have made of myself, to undertake a work of this mixture, mine own reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had

very appearance without applauding it as a benefit. Consider the inexpressible advantages which will ever attend your highness, when you make the power of rendering men happy the measure of your actions. While this is your impulse, how easily will that power be extended! The glance of your eye will give gladness, and your every sentence have the force of a bounty. Whatever some men would insinuate, you have lost your subject when you have lost his inclination; you are to preside over the minds, not the bodies of men. The soul is the essence of a man; and you cannot have the true man against his inclination. Choose therefore to be the king or the conqueror of your people, it may be submission, but it cannot be obedience that is passive. I am, sir, your highness's most faithful servant,

"WALTER RALEIGH."

it been begotten then, with my first dawn of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open itself to my younger years, and before any wound received either from fortune or time, I might yet well have doubted, that the darkness of age and death would have covered over both it and me long before the performance. For, beginning with the creation, I have proceeded with the History of the World ; and I lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my discourse within this our renowned Island of Great Britain. I confess that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other travels, to have set together (as I could) the unjointed and scattered frame of our English affairs, than of the universal : in whom had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough ; the day of a tempestuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost and soul-piercing wounds, which are ever aching while uncured, with the desire to satisfy those few friends which I have tried by the fire of adversity—the former enforcing, the latter persuading—have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and myself the subject of every opinion, wise or weak.”*

The conclusion of the preface affords a specimen of the beauties as well as the defects of Raleigh's style : “ I know that it will be said by many, that I might have been more pleasing to the reader if I had written the story of mine own times, having been permitted to draw water as near the well-head as another. To this I answer, that whosoever, in writing a modern history, shall follow truth too near the heels, it may happily strike out his teeth. There is no mistress or guide that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself ; and he that walks after her at a middle distance, I know not whether I should call that kind of course temper or baseness. It is true, that I never

* Preface, p. i. See Remarks at the end of this volume.

travelled after men's opinions when I might have made the best use of them ; and I have now too few days remaining to imitate those that, either out of extreme ambition or extreme cowardice, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times ; wherein also, why may it not be said, that, in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and tax the vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead ; and have it laid to my charge. But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any, that, finding themselves spotted like the tigers of old time, shall find fault with me for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsely. For I protest before the majesty of God that I malice no man under the sun. Impossible I know it is to please all, seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions, but that they seem diverse persons in one and the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so do I : *Unus mihi pro populo erat* ; and to the same effect Epicurus, *Hoc ego non multis, sed tibi* ; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient philosopher, *Satis est unus, satis est nullus*. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian world, that I undertook this work. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the world without a master ; from which all that is presented hath received both blows and thanks. * * But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably, so against those *qui gloriantur in malitia*, my present adversity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already, and therefore have not far to fall. * * For conclusion ; all the hope I have lies in this, that I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous readers of my love towards them, and well-deserving, than ever I

shall do again. For had it been otherwise, I should hardly have had this leisure to have made myself a fool in print." In a man who for many years had been the victim of an unjust sentence, this tone of resignation is infinitely more affecting than the language of indignant remonstrance.

From this preface I am tempted to extract another sentence, on the dignity and use of history, which is finely written. "It hath triumphed," says he, "over time, which, besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over; for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of so many thousands of years, and given so fair and piercing eyes to our mind, that we plainly behold living now, as if we had lived then, that great world, *Magni Dei sapiens opus*,—'the wise work,' says Hermes, 'of a Great God,' as it was then, when but new to itself. By it, I say, it is that we live in the very time when it was created; we behold how it was governed; how it was covered with waters, and again re peopled; how kings and kingdoms have flourished and fallen; and for what virtue and piety God made prosperous, and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe unto history, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal, by the comparison and application of other men's forepast miseries with our own like errors and ill-deservings."*

To proceed now from the preface to the work itself,—from the porch into that spacious and noble building to which it conducts,—we find that it embraces the annals of the world, from the creation to the termination of the Second Macedonian War, giving "the flower of recorded story" through the three first great monarchies, and concluding with Rome triumphant in the fourth, about a

* Preface, p. v.

century and a half before the birth of our Saviour, comprehending a period of nearly 4000 years. In the first book, which is rather theological and philosophical than strictly historical, he discourses of the being and attributes of God, and of the exhibition of his power and goodness in the work of creation. "God," says he, "whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a power uneffable, and virtue infinite; a light, by abundant clarity invisible; an understanding which itself can only comprehend; an essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity, was and is pleased to make himself known by the work of the world: in the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he embraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the image of that glory which cannot be measured, and withal, that one, and yet universal nature which cannot be defined. In the glorious lights of heaven we perceive a shadow of his Divine countenance; in his merciful provision for all that live, his manifold goodness, and lastly, in creating and making existent the world universal by the absolute act of his own word, his power, and almightiness; which power, light, virtue, wisdom, and goodness, being all but attributes of one simple essence and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern, *per speculum creaturarum*; that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of celestial and terrestrial bodies. * * By these potent effects we approach to the knowledge of the Omnipotent Cause, and by these motions their Almighty Mover. * * * By his own Word, and by this visible world, is God perceived of men, which is also the understood language of the Almighty vouchsafed to all his creatures, whose hieroglyphical characters are the unnumbered stars, the sun, and moon, written on these large volumes of the firmament, written also on the earth and the seas, by the letters of all those living creatures and plants which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore, said that learned Cusanus, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est quam Deus explicatus*,—the world universal is nothing else but God exprest. And 'the invisible things of God,' says St Paul, 'are seen by his creation of

the world, being considered in his creatures.' Of all which there was no other cause preceding than his own will; no other matter than his own power; no other workman than his own Word; no other consideration than his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order by his unchanged will moved, by his high wisdom disposed, and by his Almighty power perfected and made visible."* This is excellent writing,—noble and just ideas upon the highest theme which can employ the human intellect,—expressed with great strength and dignity of language; and yet the author of it has been arraigned by critics, who have chosen rather to copy the scurrility of Coke than to examine his own opinions, as a "notorious unbeliever suspected of atheism."† Here, and throughout the work, the style partakes of the fault of the age, being rather stiff and cumbrous; yet it is vigorous, purely English, and possesses an antique richness of ornament, similar to what pleases us when we see some ancient priory or stately manor-house, and compare it with our more modern mansions. In his first book, which embraces the period from the creation to the building of Nineveh, and more especially in the early portion of it, Raleigh displays an intimate acquaintance with Scripture, and with the writings of the Fathers. He shows, at the same time, that he had studied the works of the most celebrated schoolmen with that freedom of thought which, emancipating itself from the prejudices of the age, rejected the errors of their philosophy, whilst it admitted their refined dexterity of intellect. Most of these authors, says he, "were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more subtle in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, than discoverers of any thing hidden, either in philosophy or divinity: of whom it may be

* History of the World, vol. ii. pp. 1, 2, 3.

† Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 216. See Remarks on Hume's character of Raleigh, at the end of this volume.

truly said, *Nihil sapientiæ odiosius acumine nimio*,—
 ‘Nothing is more odious to true wisdom than too acute sharpness.’”*

One of the most remarkable features in this work, especially in the first book, is that fine poetical imagination, which irradiates the most abstruse discussions, and gives a bright colouring to subjects, which in the hands of other writers become cold and forbidding. In his chapter on Fate, for example, what can be more beautiful than the mode in which he introduces his belief in the uses and influences of the stars? “And certainly it cannot be doubted,” says he, “but the stars are instruments of far greater use than to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after sunset. * * And if we cannot deny but that God hath given virtues to springs and fountains, to cold earth, to plants and stones, minerals, and to the vilest parts of the basest living creatures, why should we rob the beautiful stars of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not think that, in the treasury of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every star) a peculiar virtue and operation, as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower, adorning the face of the earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautify the earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dusty face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those mysterious and glorious bodies set in the firmament to no other end than to adorn it, but for instruments and organs of his Divine Providence, so far as it hath pleased his just will to determine. Origen, upon this place of Genesis, ‘Let there be light in the firmament,’ &c., affirmeth, that the stars are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes), but are as open books, wherein are contained and set down all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of human wisdom. * * And though, for the capacity of men, we know somewhat,

* History of the World, vol. ii. pp. 16, 17, 44.

yet in the true and uttermost virtues of plants and herbs, which ourselves sow and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant ; much more in the powers and working of the celestial bodies. ‘ For hardly,’ saith Solomon, ‘ can we discern the things that are upon the earth, and with great labour find we out those things which are before us, who can then investigate the things that are in heaven ?’ * * But in this question of fate, the middle course is to be followed : that, as with the heathen, we do not bind God to his creatures in this supposed necessity of destiny ; so, on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful creatures of their powers and offices.”*

Some striking examples of this pleasing manner of blending together the philosophy of the Fathers with his own rich imagination are to be found in his chapter entitled, “ That Man is, as it were, a little World.” “ ‘ Man,’ says Gregory Nanzianzene, ‘ is the bond and chain which tieth together both natures ;’ and because in the little frame of man’s body there is a representation of the universal, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called Microcosmos, or the little world ; * * for out of the earth and dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpish ; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard rocks and stones, and therefore strong and durable ; his blood, which disperseth itself by the branches of veins through all the body, may be resembled to those waters which are carried by brooks and rivers over all the earth ; his breath to the air ; his natural heat to the enclosed warmth which the earth hath in itself, which, stirred up by the heat of the sun, assisteth nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties which the earth bringeth forth ; our radical moisture, oil, or balsamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained), is resembled to the fat and fertility of the earth ; the hairs of man’s body, which adorns or overshadows it, to the grass which

* History of the World, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29.

covereth the upper face and skin of the earth ; * * our determinations, to the light, wandering, and unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds ; our eyes, to the light of the sun and moon, and the beauty of our youth to the flowers of the spring, which either in a very short time, or with the sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the stalks ; the thoughts of our mind, to the motions of angels ; and our pure understanding (formerly called *mens*, and that which always looketh upwards), to those intellectual natures which are always present with God ; and lastly, our immortal souls (while they are righteous) are by God himself beautified with the title of his own image and similitude. And although in respect of God there is no man just, or good, or righteous, ' for behold he found folly in his angels,' saith Job, yet with such a kind of difference as there is between the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodness in man."

From this Raleigh proceeds to the opinion of Aristotle and Pythagoras, *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, the four complexions resembling the four elements, and the seven ages of man the seven planets ; a fanciful idea, upon which he dilates with much beauty. " Our infancy is compared to the moon, in which we seem only to live and grow as plants ; the second age to Mercury, wherein we are taught and instructed ; our third age to Venus, the days of love, desire, and vanity ; the fourth to the sun, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of man's life ; the fifth to Mars, in which we seek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends ; the sixth age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of ourselves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding ; the last and seventh to Saturn, wherein our days are sad and overcast, and in which we find, by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth. * * For this tide of man's life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a

perpetual ebb and falling stream, but never floweth again; our leaf once fallen springeth no more, neither doth the sun or the summer adorn us again with the garments of new leaves and flowers.

“ *Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini quod fuit ante, redit.* ”

To which I give this sense :—

“ The plants and trees, made poor and old
By winter envious,
The spring-time bounteous
Covers again from shame and cold ;
But never man repaired again
His youth and beauty lost,
Though art, and care, and cost,
Do promise Nature's help in vain.”

The conclusion deduced in a former chapter from these premises, namely, that considering the baseness and frailty of our bodies we should prefer to them the care of the soul, is in the highest strain of Christian philosophy : “ In this time it is, when we for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts. * * And though our own eyes do every where behold the sudden and resistless assaults of death, and nature assureth us by never-failing experience, and reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the earth have neither certainty nor durability ; that our bodies are but the anvils of pain and diseases, and our minds the hives of unnumbered cares, sorrows, and passions ; * * yet such is the true unhappiness of our condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our understanding, that we only prize, pamper, and exalt this vassal and slave of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortal soul, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous men, seeing God's justice in the one, and his goodness in the other, is exercised for evermore as the ever-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great account ? Never while we

have one vanity left us to spend. We plead for titles, till our breath fail us ; dig for riches, while our strength enableth us ; exercise malice, while we can revenge ; and then, when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature itself hateth the house of old age, we remember with Job, ‘that we must go the way from whence we shall not return, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark,’ and then, I say, looking over-late into the bottom of our conscience, (which pleasure and ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) we behold therein the fearful images of our actions past, and withal this terrible inscription, ‘That God will bring every work into judgment that man hath done under the sun.’ * * * But let us not flatter our immortal souls herein ; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him,—to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him,—(casting our hopes on the peace which we trust to make at parting), is no other than a rebellious presumption, and (that which is worst of all), even a contemptuous laughing to scorn and deriding of God, his laws, and precepts. *Frustra sperant qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur*,—‘They hope in vain,’ saith Bernard, ‘which in this sort flatter themselves with God’s mercy.’ ”*

In his translations of the poetical passages, quoted in the earlier part of his history, Raleigh is often very happy, keeping close to the original, and giving both the spirit and meaning with much brevity and elegance. Thus in those fine lines of Virgil—

“Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astræ,
Spiritus intus alit ; totamque infusa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.”

“The heaven, the earth, and all the liquid main,—
The moon’s bright globe, and stars Titanian,
A spirit within maintains ; and their whole mass,—
A mind, which through each part infused doth pass,
Fashions and works, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great body of the universe.”†

* Hist. World, vol. ii. pp. 58-61, 54-56. † Ibid. pp. 13, 14.

Another example is to be found in his translation of the following verses of Lucan :—

“Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
 Textitur in puppim, cæsoque induta juvenco,
 Vectoris patiens tumidum supernatat amnem.
 Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
 Navigat oceano.”

“The moisten'd osier of the hoary willow
 Is woven first into a little boat,
 Then, clothed in bullock's hide, upon the billow
 Of a proud river lightly doth it float
 Under the waterman :
 So on the lakes of overswelling Po
 Sails the Venetian ; and the Briton so
 On the outspread ocean.”*

From these remarks, supported by the extracts we have given, some idea may be formed of the style and execution of this great work. To pursue the criticism further, or to attempt to follow the author into the wide ocean of Assyrian, Grecian, and Roman history, would carry us much beyond our limits. To characterize, in a few sentences, so extensive a performance, so diversified in its subjects, and presenting so many features of excellence, is impossible. It is laborious without being heavy, learned without being dry, acute and ingenious without degenerating into the subtle but trivial distinctions of the schoolmen. Its narrative is clear and spirited, and the matter collected from the most authentic sources which were then accessible. The opinions given on state policy, on the causes of great events, on the different forms of government, on naval or military tactics, on agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and other sources of national greatness, are not the mere echo of other minds, they are results drawn from the experience of a long life spent in constant action and vicissitude in various climates and countries, and from personal observation in offices of high trust and responsibility. But perhaps its most striking feature is the sweet tone of

* History of the World, vol. ii. p. 259.

philosophic melancholy which pervades the whole. Written in prison during the quiet evening of a tempestuous life, we feel, in its perusal, that we are the companions of a superior mind, nursed in contemplation, and chastened and improved by sorrow, in which the bitter recollection of injury, and the asperity of resentment, have passed away, leaving only the heavenly lesson, that all is vanity. It may be remarked, lastly, that the work contains the most complete and satisfactory evidence of the absolute groundlessness of the charges of infidelity brought against Sir Walter at his trial, and since countenanced by the authority of Hume. That distinguished writer could not have advanced this opinion had he consulted the History of the World, throughout which runs a uniform strain of Christian faith and Christian doctrine, evinced by a learned reference to the Scriptures as the Word of God, and an unhesitating condemnation of all those ingenious but mischievous inventions of ancient or of modern philosophy, which would allegorize their meaning, circumscribe their inspiration, or impair their authority. Had this been otherwise, Bishop Hall, an author as eminent for piety as for eloquence, would not have commended the work so highly in his treatise entitled, "Balm of Gilead, or Comforts for the Distrest," with whose eulogium we shall conclude these remarks. "A wise man, as Laurentius, the presbyter, observed well, does much in solitude. So mayst thou employ the hours of thy close retiredness, and bless God for so happy an opportunity. How memorable an instance has our age afforded us of an eminent person, to whose imprisonment we are all obliged, besides many philosophical experiments, for that noble History of the World now in our hands. The court had his youthful and freer years, and the Tower his latter age; the Tower reformed the courtier in him, and produced those worthy monuments of art and industry, which we should have in vain expected from his freedom and jollity. It is observed that shining wood, when it is kept within doors, loses its light; it is other-

wise with this and many other active wits, which had never shined so much if not for closeness."

During these literary occupations Raleigh never intermitted his efforts to recover his liberty; but the animosity of Cecil, the indifference of the king, and the influence of Somerset, who enjoyed the spoils of the captive, rendered all ineffectual. Under this severe disappointment, aggravated by the strictness with which he was guarded, and the cold and discomfort of his apartments, his health became seriously affected; his breathing began to be short and laboured; and in an affecting letter to the queen, he complains, that after eight years he was as straitly locked up as on the first day; that he had in vain petitioned for so much grace as to walk with his keeper up the hill within the Tower. These symptoms soon grew more alarming. The whole of his left side was seized with a partial paralysis, his speech was perceptibly affected, and his physician, Dr Turner, sent a statement of his case to Cecil, entreating that he might have the accommodation of a warmer room, which, when permitted more liberty, he had built near his laboratory in the garden. The proof of this is contained in a curious document preserved in the State-paper Office, which exhibits the secretary in the character of a jailor, heartlessly weighing the sufferings of his prisoner, and considering whether his illness demanded a little more indulgence. It is addressed to the Earl of Salisbury, being indorsed in his own handwriting, "The Judgment of Sir W. Raleigh's Case;" and is evidently an abridgment of the physician's memorial, which, after detailing the symptoms, prays that Raleigh should be removed from his cold lodging, "if it might stand with his honour's lyking."*

Whether this miserable favour was granted does not appear; but it was evident, that so long as Cecil retained his power there was no liberty for his victim. By the death of this minister, however, which happened soon

* Mrs Thomson, *Life of Raleigh*, Appendix, letter U.

after, one great obstacle to his enlargement was withdrawn.

Raleigh could not refrain from commemorating his feelings on this occasion in a satirical epitaph, less severe, however, than the strictures on the character of the same person by Osborne and Weldon.

“ Here lies Hobbinol, our pastor while ere,
That once in a quarter our fleeces did shear.
To please us, his cur he kept under a clog,
And was ever after both shepherd and dog,
For oblation to Pan, his custom was thus,—
He first gave a trifle, then offer'd up us ;
And through his false worship such power he did gain,
As kept him o' th' mountain and us on the plain ;
Where many a hornpipe he tuned to his Phillis,
And sweetly sung Walsingham to's Amaryllis ;
Till Atropos snapt him, the envious drab,
For, spite of his tar-box, he died of the scab.”

Who the Phillis here alluded to was does not appear, unless we are to believe it to have been the Countess of Suffolk ; the mistress, as Weldon informs us, of that “ little great secretary,—little in body and stature, but great in wit and policy.”*

Raleigh touches on Cecil's power of fleecing the people and enriching himself. The last line refers to a story told by Sir Anthony Weldon, that he died of a very loathsome disease (the Herodian), which is confirmed by the statement of Osborne, though the evidence of both is to be received with caution. Yet even by his eulogists, Salisbury's illness, for which the use of the Bath hot-wells was recommended, is said to have been a complication of dropsy and scurvy. The general feeling on his death is probably described with impartiality in a letter of the Earl of Dorset to Sir Thomás Edmondés : —“ When great men die, such is either their desert or the malice of the people, or both together, as commonly they are ill spoken of ; and so is one that died but lately, —more, I think, than ever any one was, and in more several kinds ; and his death hath wiped away the memory of others' misdeeds, and as it were extinguished

* Weldon, p. 338. Osborne, pp. 236, 237.

their faults,—his being, if not greater, yet fresher in every man's mouth and memory."* In his illness Cecil thus addressed Sir Walter Cope, one of his most favourite and intimate servants: "Ease and pleasure quake to hear of death; but my life, full of cares and miseries, desireth to be dissolved,"†—a sentence which might be a warning to ambition, if such were ever heeded.

The death of his enemy the Earl of Salisbury, and the continued friendship of the Prince of Wales, promised some alleviation to Raleigh's misfortunes; but unhappily, before the generosity of Henry could take advantage of the change, and move the king for the liberation of his friend, he was himself seized with the malignant fever of which he died. The illness of this youth assumed from the first an alarming appearance, but was evidently aggravated by the ignorance of his physicians. One of them, Sir Theodore Mayerne, possessed of somewhat greater skill than the rest, urged the immediate necessity of bleeding, but was outvoted by his brethren, who administered restoratives, and greatly aggravated the fury of the disease. At length, on Sunday, 1st November, seven or eight ounces of blood were permitted to be taken, and nature seemed to point out the excellence of the remedy, and to chide the ignorance of the physicians; for the poor sufferer did not cease desiring and calling on them to take more, as they were about to stop the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant.‡

The fall of the pulse, the cessation of delirium, and evident symptoms of convalescence, demonstrated the wisdom of Mayerne's opinion. On 3d November, "in order to ease the prince's pain in the head, his hair was shaven away, and pigeons and cupping-glasses applied, * * but without any relief except for the present."§ On the following day the wretched quacks by whom he

* Birch's Historical View, p. 347.

† Biographia Britannica, art. Cecil (Robert).

‡ Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales, compiled from his own Papers, pp. 345, 346.

§ Ibid. p. 348.

was surrounded "applied to the soles of his feet a cock cloven by the back;" and the queen obtained some of Raleigh's cordial, which was given among other remedies without the slightest success. The fever had now recurred with a force which defied all human skill; and the prince expired on the 6th of November, to the sincere grief of the whole nation, whose good-will his virtues and excellent qualities had entirely gained. The passage in Welwood which refers to Sir Walter's drug is curious, as containing the probable ground-work of the absurd but general suspicion that the royal patient died of poison. "When the prince," says this author, "fell into his last illness, the queen sent to Sir Walter Raleigh for some of his cordial, which she herself had taken in a fever some time before, with remarkable success. Raleigh sent it, together with a letter, to the queen, wherein he expressed a tender concern for the prince; and, boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an expression to this purpose, that it would certainly cure him, or any other, of a fever, except in case of poison. The prince dying, though he took it, the queen in the agony of her grief showed Raleigh's letter, and laid so much weight on the expression about poison, that to her dying day she could never be dissuaded from the opinion, that her beloved son had had foul play done him."*

The feelings with which Raleigh received this blow, one of the severest which could have befallen him, were not those of unavailing complaint, but of deep and manly sorrow. During the tedious years of his imprisonment he had been cheered by the correspondence of this talented youth. At his request, and for his instruction, he engaged in that great work of which we have spoken; and with such enthusiasm did the prince embrace the interests of his friend, that shortly before his death he solicited the Sherborne estate from his father, with the purpose of restoring it to its former master. To have

* Welwood's Notes on Wilson's History of King James. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 714.

owed to him his liberty and the reinstatement of his fortunes, and to have devoted the rest of his life and the treasures of his long experience to so generous a patron, was a prospect he had often indulged with the sanguine hope that formed part of his character ; but it was now withered for ever. "Of the art of war by sea," says he in his History, "I had written a treatise for the Lord Henry, Prince of Wales,—a subject to my knowledge never handled by any man, ancient or modern. But God hath spared me the labour of finishing it by his loss,—by the loss of that brave prince, of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows ; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him : *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*"* With the same brief but profound sorrow he thus concludes his history:—"Lastly, whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself the First Part of the General History of the World, implying a second and third volume, which I also intended and have hewn out. Besides many other discouragements persuading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that glorious prince out of the world to whom they were directed, whose unspeakable and never-enough-lamented loss hath taught me to say with Job, *Versa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium.*"†

Yet although again cast down by this grievous loss, it was not in the nature of Raleigh's mind to sink into despair ; and in the rise of a new favourite, Villiers, duke of Buckingham, which also diminished the power of Somerset, he perceived a revival of hope. By the influence of some friends with the duke, the liberty of the Tower was allowed him ; and the subsequent discovery of the murder of Overbury by the Earl of Somerset and his infamous countess, whilst it led to their condemnation and disgrace, encouraged Sir Walter to redouble his exertions to obtain a release. He addressed a petition to the queen, who was favourably disposed towards him, and both to her and to Sir Ralph Winwood, secretary

* Hist. of the World, b. v. c. 1. § 6. † Ibid. b. v. c. 6. § 12.

of state, renewed his proposal for the settlement of Guiana, and the working of a gold mine, of which in his former voyages he had ascertained the existence. The scheme which Cecil had refused to countenance was recommended to the king by Winwood, and as the expense came out of the private fortunes of Raleigh, and those who embarked in the speculation, whilst his majesty was to receive a fifth part of the bullion imported, no stretch of generosity was required for the royal consent to an adventure by which he could lose nothing, and might be a gainer to a high amount. The remonstrances, however, of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who was jealous of any expedition to that part of America, and represented the whole affair as an intended attack upon the possessions of his master, shook the resolution of James, and would probably have put a stop to the enterprise, had not Raleigh adopted a more efficacious mode of forwarding it by paying £1500 to Sir William St John and Sir Edward Villiers, the uncles of Buckingham. It affords a striking proof of the corruption of the court, that in this way success was at length obtained, and the monarch, who had for twelve years steeled his heart against all the demands of truth and justice, yielded at once to the desires of a capricious and venal favourite.

Early in March 1615, the prisoner was informed of the success of his suit, and wrote to Villiers this brief and dignified letter.

SIR,—You have, by your mediation, put me again into the world. I can but acknowledge it; for to pay any part of your favour by any service of mine as yet, it is not in my power. If it succeed well, a good part of the honour shall be yours; and if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall show myself exceeding ungrateful. In the mean while, and till God discover the success, I beseech you to reckon me among the number of your faithful servants, though the least able.

“W. RALEIGH.”*

Three days after the date of this letter Sir Walter was liberated from confinement. When expressing his reflections to some friends on the extraordinary dealings of Providence with regard to himself and Somerset, he remarked that the whole history of the world did not furnish a similar example, where freedom came to a royal prisoner, and a halter to the bosom favourite of the monarch, except in the instance of Mordecai and Haman. This was by some officious talebearer repeated to the king. His answer was remarkable; "Raleigh," said he, "may die in that deceit;"—an observation which, escaping by chance from the royal bosom, showed its deep unforgiveness. Too weak to resist the importunity of Buckingham, whom he both feared and loved, James gave a partial liberty to the object of his resentment; but he retained the power of punishing, and felt an ungenerous satisfaction in contemplating the probability of bringing him one day to a sanguinary reckoning.

The moment Sir Walter regained his freedom, he embarked with ardour in his schemes of colonizing Guiana, and working the gold mine from which he looked for so rich a return. Whatever may have been his credulity as to the wealth to be derived from this source, or however slight the grounds of his expectations of success, to doubt his sincerity seems unreasonable. During his long imprisonment he had never intermitted his plans, and the wreck of his fortune was employed in despatching agents, who kept up among the natives, and the few remaining English settlers, the hopes of relief from Spanish tyranny. Almost every second year an intercourse of this nature took place.* Some of the Indians arrived in England, and had interviews with him in the Tower; and an epistle to the queen is preserved in the State-paper Office,† in which he describes the great riches which might be derived from this province, and laments that malice had hitherto prevailed over wisdom so far as to

* Apology. Works, vol. viii. p. 500.

† Appendix to Thomson's Life of Raleigh, letter S.

prevent its colonization. So soon as he became certain that he was to be restored to freedom, he addressed this letter to Secretary Winwood,—a man in every respect the opposite of Cecil,—far his inferior in ability, but plain, honest, intelligent, and of the old English school in regard to his jealousy of Spain.

“HONOURED SIR,—I was lately persuaded by two gentlemen, my ancient friends, to acquaint your honour, with some offers of mine, made heretofore for a journey to Guiana, who were of opinion, that it would be better understood now than when it was first propounded. Which advice having surmounted my despair, I have presumed to send unto your honour the copies of those letters which I then wrote, both to his majesty and to the Treasurer Cecil; wherein, as well the reasons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made are briefly answered.

“What I know of the riches of that place, not by hearsay, but what mine eyes have seen,* I have said it often; but it was then to no end, because those that had the greatest trust were resolved not to believe it. Not because they doubted the truth, but because they doubted my disposition towards themselves; where, if God had blessed me in the enterprise, I had recovered his majesty's favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspicion, they never had any. Our late worthy Prince of Wales was extreme curious in searching out the nature of my offences. The queen's majesty hath informed herself from the beginning. The King of Denmark, at both times of his being here, was thoroughly satisfied of my innocency. They would otherwise never have moved his majesty on my behalf. The wife, the brother, and the son of a king, do not use to sue for men suspect. But, sir, since they all have done it out of their charity, and but with references to me alone, your honour, whose respect hath only relation to his majesty's

* Oldys's Life, pp. 209, 221.

service, and strengthened by the example of those princes, may with the more hardiness do the like ; being princes to whom his majesty's good estate is no less dear, and all men that shall oppugn it is no less hateful, than to the king himself.

“It is true, sir, that his majesty hath sometimes answered, that his council knew me better than he did ; meaning some two or three of them. And it was indeed my infelicity. For, had his majesty known me, I had never been here where I now am ; or, had I known his majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His majesty not knowing of me hath been my ruin ; and his majesty misknowing of them hath been the ruin of a goodly part of his estate. But they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his majesty's knowledge. But, sir, how little soever his majesty knew me, and how much soever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his majesty both for my life and all that remains ; of which, but for his majesty, nor life nor aught else had remained. In this respect, sir, I am bound to yield up the same life, and all I have, for his majesty's service. To die for the king, and not by the king, is all the ambition I have in the world.”

This letter was followed by James's permission to engage in the adventure ; and this once obtained, the preparations were conducted on a scale which completely refutes the suggestion of Hume, that Raleigh's object was plunder and not settlement. He called in the £8000 he had lent to the Countess of Bedford,—a sum given him by the king as a “competent satisfaction” for his estate of Sherborne, though that property brought an annual income of £5000. Finding this insufficient, he prevailed on Lady Raleigh to sell her estate of Micham, for which he received £2500. Private merchants and adventurers, both English and foreign, took a share in the undertaking ; and as settlement in the new country was the main design, many volunteers, with small sums,

joined the fleet, whose services Sir Walter did not think it right to refuse, though they afterwards gave more trouble than assistance.

It has been already seen that these preparations, and the knowledge of their destination, had roused the jealousy of the Spanish court; and, as they proceeded, Count Gondomar remonstrated more violently than before. This ambassador was a politician of consummate address. His manners had nothing of the stiffness or saturnine gravity of the Spaniard, but were light and agreeable. He appeared to talk on every subject with thoughtless and unhesitating boldness,—delighted in gayety and good fellowship, and scattered presents and wit with equal liberality amongst the courtiers. Yet, under this gay exterior was concealed a dark and powerful character: the cunning and pliant morality of the Jesuit,—a pride, cruelty, and tenacity of purpose, truly Castilian,—and a penetration which discerned every thing, whilst it seemed to observe nothing.

On his first arrival in England the count applied himself to study the character of the king; and the result was his gaining an influence over James, which was only the more powerful because it was most artfully concealed. Against the projected expedition we have the evidence of the monarch himself that Gondomar protested in the strongest manner: “He took great alarm, and represented unto his majesty by loud and vehement assertions, upon iterated audiences, that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of Sir Walter Raleigh to be but hostile and piratical, and tending to the breach of the peace between the two crowns.”* To all this Raleigh answered, that he meant to sail for Guiana, a country belonging to England both by right of discovery and by the consent of the natives; that he had no intention to invade any part of the dominions of Spain nor to attack her fleets; that the arms and soldiers he took with him were for self-defence and the strength necessary in

* James’s Declaration, p. 84, printed in Appendix to Cayley.

such an enterprise ; and that to the truth of all this he had set his hand in a letter to his majesty. Affecting to be satisfied, Gondomar withdrew his opposition. He observed to Winwood, that if the design was solely to settle Guiana, no resistance should be made, and the adventurer might without molestation work any mines he pleased.* The preparations therefore proceeded. He obtained the royal sanction ; a commission under the privy-seal constituted him general and commander-in-chief of the expedition, and governor of the new country. Some friends wished him to procure a pardon under the great seal, but Raleigh unfortunately neglected it, relying, as is said, on the opinion of Sir Francis Bacon, who assured him that the ample words of the commission making him admiral of the fleet, and giving him the power of martial law, necessarily included a remission of all past offences.† Satisfied, therefore, on this point, Sir Walter assembled his fleet, consisting of fourteen sail. He himself hoisted his flag in the *Destiny*, a ship built at his own expense, and commanded by his son, who bore his name. She carried thirty-six pieces of ordnance, and had on board 200 men, including eighty gentlemen volunteers, amongst whom were many of the admiral's relations. On the 28th of March 1617, they dropt down the Thames ; and in the May following Raleigh published his general orders to the commanders and land-companies. They are drawn up with admirable clearness and good sense ; and as we have already seen that some authors have accused him of atheism and profanity, we shall give the two first heads :—“ First, because no action nor enterprise can prosper (be it by sea or land) without the favour and assistance of Almighty God, the Lord and Strength of hosts and armies, you shall not fail to cause divine service to be read in your ship morning and evening ; * * or, at least (if there be interruption by foul weather), once the day, praising God every night, with

* Apology. Works, vol. viii. p. 499.

† This, however, is very doubtful, as the words of James's declaration describe Raleigh as being still under peril of the law.

singing of a psalm at the setting of the watch. Secondly, you shall take especial care that God be not blasphemed in your ship, but that, after admonition given, if the offenders do not refrain themselves, you shall cause them of the better sort to be fined out of their adventures; by which course if no amendment be found, you shall acquaint me withal. For if it be threatened in the Scriptures, that ‘the curse shall not depart from the house of the swearer,’ much less from the ship of the swearer.”*

The squadron was forced by stress of weather to put into Cork, where Raleigh was generously entertained by Boyle, who had purchased his Irish estates, and had been lately raised to the peerage. By the same nobleman he was supplied with a large quantity of stores and necessaries,† and having completely refitted the fleet, late in the month of August, stood out for the New World. In September they made the Canaries, in October the Cape de Verd Islands, and in the beginning of November the continent of South America. It appears from the following letter to his wife, that the outward voyage was one of extreme sickness and suffering:—

“SWEET HEART,—I can write you but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent calenture, for fifteen days, that ever man did and lived. But God, that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the hell-fire of heat. We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which forty-two have died, and there are yet many sick. But having recovered the land of Guiana this 12th of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred men, and the rest of our fleet are reasonable strong—strong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at London, to make our strength known to the Spanish king by his ambassador, have not taught the Spanish king to fortify all the

* Appendix to Cayley, No. xiv. p. 70.

† Smith’s History of Cork, vol. i. p. 128.

entrances against us. Howsoever we must make the adventure ; and, if we perish, it shall be no honour for England, nor gain for his majesty, to lose, among many other, one hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it. * * In my passage to the Canaries I stayed at Gomera, where I took water in peace, because the country durst not deny it me. I received there, of an English race, a present of oranges, lemons, quinces, and pomegranates, without which I could not have lived. Those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing.

“ Your son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the line. All my servants have escaped, but Crab and my cook ; yet all have had the sickness. * * Remember my service to my Lord Carew and Mr Secretary Winwood. I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries. * * By the next I trust you shall hear better of us ; in God’s hands we were, and in Him we trust. The bearer, Captain Alley, for his infirmity of his head, I have sent back ; an honest valiant man ; he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at Lothbury. * * And my most devoted and humble service to her majesty.

“ To tell you that I might be here king of the Indians were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat, and all that the country yields. All offer to obey me. Commend me to poor Carew my son. From Caliana in Guiana the 14th of November.”

It is evident from this letter that Raleigh had been enthusiastically received by the Indians, and that, notwithstanding the distresses of the voyage, he confidently anticipated success. He was partially informed of the betrayal of his plans to the Spanish king ; but he had just arrived, and was not yet aware of the full extent of the treachery to which he had been made the victim. On this subject it is painful to discover the weakness or

duplicity of James. He had pretended a deep interest in his plans, and, for the purpose of more fully considering them, procured from him a minute written description of the country, and the very river by which he was to enter, besides a statement of the number of men, with the burden of each ship. These papers were delivered to Gondomar, who forwarded them to Madrid; and despatches were immediately sent to the West Indies disclosing the whole design to the Spaniards in Guiana. On his first arrival, Raleigh, with the sanguine temper which had survived the attacks of misfortune and disease, trusted his enemies had only obtained a general idea of what was intended, and that all would still go well. But he was miserably deceived. He found the minutest secrets of his expedition were known; even his own private letter to the king was in the hands of the Spaniards; and instead of the free passage he had been promised, the country was fortified against him in the very places where he had intended to commence operations. But he felt that his honour, and perhaps his life, depended on success, and the measures he adopted were those best calculated to secure it. Being so weak from sickness that he was carried in a litter, he directed five ships under Captain Keymis, the same officer who in 1596 had explored the country, to sail up the Orinoco towards the mine; while he himself with the other vessels, commanded by his vice-admiral Captain John Pennington, Captain Sir John Ferne, and Sir Warham Saintleger, remained at Trinidad, for the double purpose of awaiting the attack of the Spanish fleet which had been sent against them, and of providing a retreat for his companions should they be repulsed.

The ships sent up the river were the *Encounter*, Captain Whitney; the *Confidence*, Woolaston; the *Supply*, King; with a pink and a caravel under Captains Smith and Hall. They carried Captains Parker and North, young Raleigh, and other experienced officers, with five foot-companies of fifty men each. Keymis had formed a plan for opening a passage to the mine; but the admiral,

not approving of it, furnished him with minute written instructions to lead the soldiers westward of the mountain Aio, to a spot only three miles from it, and having encamped there to proceed with a small party to ascertain its depth and breadth. If he found it royal, and should the Spaniards attack him, he was to repel force by force; but if it did not promise to be so rich as was expected, he was to bring a basket or two of ore to convince the king that the design was not imaginary, as had been insinuated. If Spanish troops, as was reported, had been recently sent up the Orinoco, and had occupied the passes, Keymis was to be careful before venturing to land, lest the common soldiers, who were not of a respectable description, should desert and dishonour the nation.

With these orders the squadron sailed on the 10th of December, and after a short progress discovered the town of Santa Thome, erected by the Spaniards on the right bank of the river. It consisted only of about 140 houses, but was garrisoned. Keymis, afraid if he followed his instructions that he might throw this place between his party and the boats, landed during the night, and took up a position between the mine and the town, trusting to repose in security till morning. On a sudden the Spaniards broke in upon his encampment, and finding many of the companies unprepared, made a pitiless slaughter. The officers, however, fought with desperate resolution, and gave the soldiers time to recover from their panic, after which they charged the assailants, drove them off the field, and pursued them to the town. The Spaniards being here reinforced by the Governor Palameça, the battle was renewed with the utmost obstinacy. Young Raleigh at the head of his company of pikemen was slain, after cutting down a leader of rank. His death infuriated his companions. They fought with a valour which nothing could resist,—put their opponents to flight, killed the governor, and possessed themselves of the place. Their victory, however, was but half completed, for the enemy, taking shelter in the houses and the market-place, kept up a destructive fire; and the English,

finding it impossible to dislodge them, burnt the town ; which compelled its defenders to escape to the woods, where they still continued to make a partial resistance.

In this establishment were found four refining houses ; but with the exception of two ingots of gold* the coin and bullion had been removed, and the passes to the mine were defended. Keymis determined, however, to endeavour to reach the spot, with the situation of which he was best acquainted, and set forward with Sir John Hampden, Captain Thornhurst, and a small party. He had not proceeded far when they received a volley from an ambuscade, which wounded six, killed two, and so staggered the resolution of the commander and the officers that they instantly retreated. They soon after evacuated the town, and rejoined Raleigh at Punta de Gallo.

On hearing the result of the expedition, Sir Walter indignantly rejected every excuse pleaded by Captain Keymis, openly asserting that he had undone him, and ruined his credit with the king past recovery. In justice to this unfortunate man we must observe, that some of the grounds which he stated in defence of his conduct are neither slight nor inconclusive. But his master knew the temper of the monarch : he had undertaken to bring back such a quantity of ore as would remove all suspicion that his enterprise was illusive or chimerical ; and when his officer returned repulsed and empty-handed, he at once foresaw the fatal use to which such a catastrophe might be turned by his enemies. We cannot, therefore, wonder that his remonstrances were loud ; and they sunk deep into the mind of Keymis. After some days he entered Raleigh's cabin, having in his hand a letter to the Earl of Arundel, containing an elaborate defence of his conduct, and requested Sir Walter to approve of it. This he declined ; and indeed under the circumstances consent was impossible ; but the refusal was fatal to the other, for, retiring to his cabin, he put a period to his existence.

Weakened by disease, almost broken-hearted by dis-

* Birch's Life, p. 641.

appointment, conscious that he had been betrayed by his sovereign, and sorrowing for the death of his brave son, the feelings of Raleigh at this moment cannot be easily described. They will be best understood by the following affecting letter to his wife :—

“ I was loath to write, because I know not how to comfort you, and God knows I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God ; and remember that the queen’s majesty bare the loss of Prince Henry with a magnanimous heart, and the Lady Harrington of her only son. Comfort your heart, dearest Bess, I shall sorrow for us both. And I shall sorrow the less, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live. I refer you to Mr Secretary Winwood’s letter, who will give you a copy of it if you send for it. Therein you shall know what hath passed, which I have written by that letter ; for my brains are broken, and it is a torment to me to write, especially of misery. I have desired Mr Secretary to give my Lord Carew a copy of his letter. I have cleansed my ship of sick men, and sent them home, and hope that God will send us somewhat before we return. Commend me to all at Lothbury. You shall hear from me, if I live, from Newfoundland, where I mean to clean my ships and revictual, for I have tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your most valiant son ! This 22d of March from the Isle of St Christophers.

“ Yours, W. RALEIGH.

“ *Postscript.*—I protest before the majesty of God, that as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins died heart-broken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true that Keymis might have gone

directly to the mine, and meant it. But after my son's death, he made them believe that he knew not the way, and excused himself upon the want of water in the river ; and counterfeiting many impediments, left it un-found. When he came back I told him he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever. He answered that when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak that he thought not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of rascals, who, after my son's death, made no account of him. He farther told me that the English sent up into Guiana could hardly defend the Spanish town of St Thome which they had taken ; and therefore for them to pass through thick woods it was impossible, and more impossible to have victuals brought them into the mountains. And it is true that the governor, Diego Palameça, and other four captains being slain, —whereof my son Wat slew one, Pleasington (Wat's sergeant), and John of Morocoes (one of his men), slew two,—I say five of them slain in the entrance to the town, the rest went off in a whole body. And each took more care to defend the passages to their mines (of which they had three within a league of the town, beside a mine that was about five miles off) than they did of the town itself.

“ Yet Keymis, at the first, was resolved to go to the mine. But, when he came to the bank-side to land, he had two men of his slain outright from the bank, and six others hurt ; and Captain Thornhurst shot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks. Now, when Keymis came back and gave me the former reasons which moved him not to open the mine (the one the death of my son, a second the weakness of the English, and their impossibilities to work it, and to be victualled, a third that it were a folly to discover it for the Spaniards, and, lastly, my weakness, and being unpardoned), and that I rejected all these his arguments, and told him that I must leave him to himself to answer it to the king and state, he shut himself into his cabin and shot himself with a pocket-

pistol, which broke one of his ribs ; and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long knife under his short ribs, up to the handle, and died.

“ Thus much I have written to Mr Secretary, to whose letters I refer you. But because I think my friends will rather hearken after you than any other to know the truth, I did after the sealing break open the letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business ; which I pray you impart to my Lord of Northumberland, and Silvanus Scorie, and to Sir John Leigh.

“ For the rest there was never poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was : For being commanded upon my allegiance to set down, not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it, to name my ships' number, men, and my artillery ; this was sent by the Spanish ambassador to his master the King of Spain. The king wrote his letters to all parts of the Indies, especially to the Governor Palameça of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidado. Of which the first letter bore date March the 19, 1617, at Madrid, and when I had not yet left the Thames ; which letter I have sent to Mr Secretary : I have also two other letters of the king's, which I reserve, and one of the council's. The king also sent a commission to levy three hundred soldiers out of his garrisons of Nuevo Regno de Granada, and Porto Rico, with ten pieces of brass ordnance to entertain us. He also prepared an armada by sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved. If I live I shall make it known. My brains are broken, and I cannot write much. I live yet, and I told you why.

“ Whitney, for whom I sold all my plate at Plymouth, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the captains of my fleet, ran from me at the Granadoes, and Woolaston with him. So as I have now but five ships, and one of those I have sent home ; and in my fly-boat a rabble of idle rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the fleet hath taken the pains and care that I have done ; that hath slept so little

and travelled so much. My friends will not believe them, and for the rest I care not. God in heaven bless you and strengthen your heart. Yours, W. RALEIGH."

Having despatched his letters, Raleigh, who was so enfeebled by sickness as to be unable to prosecute his enterprise, conducted the fleet to Newfoundland. At this place the crew of his ship, the *Destiny*, became mutinous; and the vessels in the squadron were on the point of separating to pursue each its own course of adventure, when Raleigh and Sir John Ferne prevailed on them to continue together, holding out, as a stratagem to induce them to obey, the hope of their intercepting the Mexican treasure-fleet; but having thus succeeded in quelling the mutiny, the admiral, notwithstanding the personal danger in which it placed him, insisted on sailing for England.* Previous to his departure, the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel had pledged their honour for his return, and Raleigh determined to vindicate their good opinion. On his arrival off the coast of Ireland, he found that the news of his disaster had preceded him: the capture of *Santa Thome*, his failing to reach the mine, the slaughter of the Spaniards, and the dispersion of his fleet, were all exaggerated by his enemies. Gondomar the ambassador passionately demanded an audience of the king, promising that all he had to say should be

* It was afterwards asserted by Wilson, but his evidence is more than suspicious, that Raleigh acknowledged that, had he fallen in with the treasure-ships, he would have been tempted to make a prize of them, according to the old principles which he had learnt in the school of Drake and Cavendish. The passage which is contained in Wilson's MS. Notes in the State-paper Office is characteristic:—"26th September.—This day he (Raleigh) fell of himself into discourse in telling me what the lords asked him yesterday, and what he answered; * * also what discourse he and my Lord Chancellor had about taking the Plate-fleet, which he confest he would have taken had he lighted on it; to which my Lord Chancellor said, 'Why, you would have been a pirate.' 'Oh,' quoth he, 'did you ever know of any that were pirates for millions? They that work for small things are pirates.'"

included in one word. When admitted to the royal presence he vociferated, "Piratas! Piratas! Piratas!" and well aware how such conduct was calculated to work on the timid temper of this monarch abruptly left the apartment without awaiting explanation. The governor who had fallen at St Thome being his near kinsman, it is likely he was actuated by personal feelings; but it is sufficient to account for the deep animosity with which the Spaniards regarded Sir Walter Raleigh, that they knew him to have curbed their power, exposed their insidious policy, and shown himself on all occasions their most able and inveterate enemy.

The moment at which he arrived was especially inauspicious to any one unfriendly to Philip, the mind of James being blindly bent on an alliance between Charles, prince of Wales, and the Infanta. We know from himself that the English king appreciated the great abilities of Raleigh, and felt that his condemnation would be peculiarly unpopular and odious; yet he meanly determined to bring him to the scaffold, not as a victim to public justice, but as a sacrifice to the offended majesty of Spain!* Such being his resolution, on the 11th of June a proclamation was published in which James assumed a tone of high indignation towards him and his companions. He declared that he had been expressly prohibited from every hostile act against any territories of his allies; accused them of scandalous outrages in infringing the royal commission; and invited all who could give information to repair to the privy-council, that the delinquents might be brought to punishment.† He at the same time directed Buckingham to address a letter to Philip, in which he declared his intention punctually to perform his promise to that prince, by sending the offender to be dealt with in Spain, unless it would be more satisfactory to his Castilian Majesty that he should receive in England the punishment due to his crimes.‡

* Rushworth's *Histor. Collect.* i. 9. Cayley, vol. ii. p. 181.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xvii. p. 92.

‡ In Mr Jardine's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 483, is the sub-

When Sir Walter arrived at Plymouth and became aware of the proclamation, he moored his ship, sent his sails on shore, and resolved to surrender. In the mean time Gondomar, having obtained the royal consent to his death, set out for Spain,* while James commissioned Sir Lewis Stukely, vice-admiral of Devon, a near kinsman of Raleigh, to arrest him and convey him to London. It seems to have been at this moment that he wrote the following spirited remonstrance to the king :—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, —If in my journey outward-bound I had my men murdered at the islands, and yet spared to take revenge ; if I did discharge some Spanish barks taken, without spoil ; if I forbore all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns on the sea-coasts, and did only follow the enterprise I undertook for Guiana (where, without any directions from me, a Spanish village was burnt, which was new set up within three miles of the mine) by your majesty’s favour, I find no reason why the Spanish ambassador should complain of me.

“If it were lawful for the Spaniards to murder twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them on the land without so much as one sword ; and it may not be lawful for your majesty’s subjects, being charged first by them, to repel force by force,—we may justly say, O miserable English ! If Parker and Meham took Campeachy and other places in the Honduras, seated in the heart of the Spanish Indies, burnt towns, and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said to them at their return ; and myself, who forbore to look into the Indies because

stance of this unpublished letter of the Duke of Buckingham, written by the king’s direction. The original is preserved in the State-paper Office.

* Toby Matthews’ Letter to Lord Bacon. Cayley, vol. ii. p. 157.

I would not offend, must be accused,—I may as justly say, O miserable Raleigh! If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffered by sickness and otherwise a world of hardships; if I have resisted, with manifest hazard of my life, the robberies and spoils with which my companions would have made me rich; if when I was poor, I could have made myself rich; if when I had gotten my liberty, which all men, and nature itself, do much prize, I voluntarily lost it; if when I was sure of my life I rendered it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my ship and goods, and put £5000 or £6000 in my purse, and yet brought her into England,—I beseech your majesty to believe that all this I have done, because it should not be said that your majesty had given liberty and trust to a man whose end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your majesty's trust.

“My mutineers told me that if I returned for England I should be undone! But I believed in your majesty's goodness more than all their arguments. Sure, I am the first, that being free and able to enrich myself, yet hath embraced poverty and peril,—and as sure I am that my example shall make me the last. But your majesty's wisdom and goodness I have made my judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be, your majesty's most humble vassal.

“W. RALEIGH.”

After a brief delay, necessary for settling his affairs, Sir Walter set out on his journey to London; but before he had proceeded twenty miles he was met by Stukely, who informed him that he had orders to arrest his person and his ship. Raleigh answered quietly, that he had already saved him the trouble; after which they travelled in company back to Plymouth, and took up their residence at the house of Sir Christopher Harris, where they remained eight or ten days.

During this interval, with what object does not clearly appear, Raleigh was left much at liberty by Sir Lewis. He was also joined by his affectionate wife, who actively

laboured for his interests ; and, availing himself of these opportunities, he acquired secret information of the inveteracy of the royal mind against him, and the resolution which had been taken to sacrifice him to Spain. The love of life—the hope, as he himself tells us, that he might yet be able to achieve the adventure to Guiana, and justify his conduct in the eyes of his sovereign, effected a change in his resolution, and he determined to attempt his escape to France. Captain King, an old officer who had sailed in the expedition, and was much attached to him, procured a bark to lie off the shore at a certain spot beyond the command of the fort ; and Raleigh and he having taken boat in a dark night, pulled away for the vessel, when suddenly altering his purpose, and commanding them to put about, he returned secretly to his lodging. Next day he sent money to the master of the bark, requesting him to stay another evening ; and yet, though both wind and tide were fair, he once more gave up the design and remained under the charge of Stukely.

At this moment this artful agent of the government was joined by one Manourie, a French physician, who insinuated himself into the confidence of Raleigh, and afterwards betrayed him. Stukely took to his assistance one Manourie, a French quack ; “ upon what occasion,” says King, “ I here willingly omit, as well because I would not meddle with any instrument of state, as because I, little suspecting what followed, was somewhat careless in the observance of their carriage.”*

When we consider the circumstances in which he was placed we cannot wonder that there was in Raleigh’s mind a conflict of feelings which kept it in painful uncertainty. Clinging to the consciousness of innocence, he at one time trusted that, if he could obtain but a short respite in London before being thrown into the Tower, he might vindicate his conduct effectually in the eyes of the king. Again, awakening to a sense of the virulence

* Oldys’s Life, p. 521.

of James's antipathy, the malice and power of his enemies, and the irresistible influence of the Spanish court, he felt that in proceeding on his journey he was only delivering himself to inevitable destruction. The shameless manner also in which his plans had already been betrayed, and his former experience of the partiality of a jury, left him little to hope from the law; while the persuasion that he might without any disloyalty retire to an asylum in France till the violence of the king's resentment should subside, prompted him at least to lend an ear to the suggestions of Manourie, who hinted the possibility of an escape.*

Under these agitating and opposite feelings he embraced a middle course,—the worst which in any imminent peril can be adopted. He determined to feign sickness, in order to move the king not to send him instantly to the Tower, and at the same time so to arrange matters, that if this failed he should be able to escape before it came to the worst.

With this object, having arrived at Salisbury, he complained of being slightly indisposed, and sent Captain King and Lady Raleigh forward to London along with his servants. On their departure he pretended that his malady increased, and procured some drugs from Manourie, which occasioned violent retching. Availing himself also of his chemical knowledge, he rubbed his face and body with a preparation which produced red pustules and discoloured spots, not unlike the symptoms of the *plagué*. It must be allowed, that having resolved to counterfeit disease, Raleigh carried through his purpose with an ingenuity not a little amusing. When Stukely and Manourie were sitting together, Robin, Sir Walter's servant, rushed in and told them his master was out of his wits, that he had leaped out of bed in his shirt, and was scratching and biting the rushes upon the planks. On coming into the apartment after this fit was over, Stukely, perceiving the skin covered with blisters,

* Raleigh's Speech on the Scaffold.

having a purple tinge round the extremities, and a spot of yellow in the middle, was instantly struck with dread of contagion, and hastened to communicate his suspicions to Bishop Andrews, by whose advice two doctors and a bachelor of physic visited the patient.

Whilst these grave gentlemen were at his bedside, the dose which Raleigh had administered began to operate, and so minutely had he prepared every thing, that the basins in the room, having been previously drugged, whatever was poured into them became black and earthy-coloured, and emitted an unpleasant smell. This complication of symptoms puzzled the doctors, who, after a consultation of great length, declared that the patient could not, without the manifest peril of his life, be exposed to the air, though they cautiously abstained from delivering an opinion on the exact nature of the disease. The success, however, of the stratagem was complete; and Sir Walter, being confined to his sick-room, and attended by Manourie, who was in the secret, gained time to write that apology for his conduct, which he addressed to the king,—a discourse, considering the circumstances under which it was composed, of singular eloquence and ability.

Thus far his scheme had prospered, and his spirits were so good that he declared himself highly pleased with the deception he had practised, and anticipated a favourable conclusion to all his distresses. It was his misfortune not to be aware of the utter baseness of Sir Lewis and Manourie, both his determined enemies, and employed by the king to lead him into such courses as might form a plausible pretext for his condemnation.

Misled by their apparent friendliness, he became inclined to treat the Frenchman with still higher confidence, and when he repeated his proposals for an escape, and suggested the likeliest method of accomplishing it, Sir Walter not only agreed to attempt it, but informed him that he had sent Captain King to procure a boat to wait at Gravesend, in order to carry him out of the country. This intelligence the spy instantly disclosed

to his confederate, and so strict a watch was kept as to render impossible the execution of the project. In this difficulty Raleigh determined to offer a bribe to Stukely for his connivance. He accordingly sent Manourie with a rich jewel, and a promise of £50, if he would intermit his vigilance and allow him to save himself. It is impossible not to see that this was exactly the snare into which it was desired that their victim should be led, and the purpose for which such persons were placed about him ; and we are not therefore to wonder that Sir Lewis agreed not only to accept the money, but to accompany the prisoner in his flight. Their plan being settled, Manourie pushed forward to London, having concluded his treacherous part, whilst the royal emissary and Sir Walter followed by slower stages. On reaching the capital he was joined by his faithful friend, King, who informed him that every thing was ready ; that Cotterel, an old servant of the admiral, and Hart, a seaman, who was believed to be trustworthy, were to have a boat in waiting at Tilbury ; and that it would be best to go aboard that very evening. This, however, was declared by Sir Walter to be impossible ; he observed there would be no getting away without Stukely, but hoped to prevail with him to accompany him, and promised to meet King the following night without fail at the Tower Dock.

Every thing seemed now to prosper according to his wishes, and Raleigh's spirits were still farther raised by a visit, on the evening of his arrival in London, from Le Clerc, the agent of the French king, who offered a bark to convey him to Calais, and letters of safe conduct to the governor.* This friendly proposal he declined, as his own bark was already prepared ; but he professed

* It was this visit which appears principally to have alarmed King James, whose timid and suspicious temper converted it into a plot and treasonable correspondence with the French government. This is apparent from the MS. papers of Sir Thomas Wilson, preserved in the State-paper Office ; and the same documents completely prove that the visit was unpremeditated, and related solely to Le Clerc's wish to favour Raleigh's escape. See Appendix.

his readiness to receive any letters of introduction, as his acquaintance with that country was worn out. This was on a Saturday evening ; and on Sunday morning, having disguised himself with a false beard, Sir Walter, his page, and Stukely, joined King at the place appointed. They found the wherries waiting, and Raleigh, Stukely, and the page leapt into one, whilst King and Hart the boatswain occupied the other. At this moment Sir Lewis asked King, whether "thus far he had not proved himself an honest man?" to which he answered, "That he hoped he would continue so." Raleigh appeared confident and cheerful till the bargemen remarked that Mr Herbert, whom he knew to be his enemy, had lately taken boat as if he would have shot the bridge, instead of which he had suddenly changed his direction, and followed them down the river. This raised Sir Walter's apprehensions, and not long after a wherry crossed their course, which he declared was a spy, and hesitated to proceed. Stukely, however, appeared so zealous for their escape, that even King became assured of his sincerity, and they continued their course beyond Woolwich to a reach of the river near Plumstead, where Hart's vessel was expected.

On approaching the place, three ketches were seen at anchor, and Hart, with well-acted disappointment, cried out that none of them was his. Raleigh, calmly remarking that they were betrayed, commanded the boatmen to row back, hoping still to regain his own house. They had made little way on their return before the strange wherry again met them, manned by Herbert's servants. Fearful of falling into their hands, Sir Walter made a last attempt to secure Stukely's friendship. They talked aside ; Raleigh was observed to give him something which he drew from his pocket, and he was overheard to make reiterated protestations of fidelity. It was agreed that he and King should pretend they had inveigled their prisoner so far only to betray him, and discover his intentions ; and thus retaining the custody of Raleigh, Sir Lewis held out hopes that some better means of escape

might be devised. It is evident this was the only plan which gave the probability of escape, whether Stukely was true or false. Had Sir Walter been delivered up to Herbert, he knew he must go instantly to the Tower. If Stukely were true, this was the only pretence on which he could have been suffered to retain charge of his prisoner ; if he were false, still an additional bribe was the single chance left ; but it failed, and whilst he took the money, he remained the traitor. The blunt honesty of Captain King, however, precipitated the discovery of his thorough baseness.

On landing, the other wherry, which had dogged them all the way, followed their example ; and as the crew, consisting of Mr Herbert's men, were coming forward, Stukely, taking King aside, said it would serve Sir Walter if he would pretend to be his accomplice in betraying his master. The captain's honest heart rose against the deceit, and he positively refused ; upon which the former, dreading his discoveries if allowed to remain at large, threw off the mask, arrested King, and handed him over to Herbert's people, commanding them to keep him apart from Sir Walter. He then carried the whole party to a tavern, and made preparations for conducting them to the Tower next morning, it being too late to reach it that day. At this moment, when the baseness of this profligate agent of government must have been completely revealed, Raleigh's equanimity did not forsake him. He only remarked, " Sir Lewis, these actions will not turn out to your credit ;" and on the succeeding day, exulting, as appears from his own description, that he had deceived so able a man, he conveyed them to the state prison. On entering the gateway of this gloomy and fatal abode, where he had already spent thirteen melancholy years, Raleigh said to King, " Stukely and Cotterel have betrayed me ; for your part you need be in fear of no danger ; but as for me, it is I am the mark that is shot at." He was then shut in, and his old friend bade him farewell, recommending him to God's keeping.

In reflecting on the misfortunes with which Raleigh was now pursued, it is evident that he was entrapped into this attempt to escape by the government, who worked through their agents, Stukely and Manourie, and wished to employ the circumstance as a handle against him. Since James's promise to Gondomar, that the great enemy of Spain should be sacrificed, it had been the study of the king to accomplish this with some show of justice. Before Sir Walter's arrival some of his crews had deserted, and others, for misconduct, he had sent home. Many of these men were privately examined, and evidence anxiously sought to convict him either of piracy or some other crimes worthy of death. The depositions of the Spanish merchants who had been plundered were carefully taken ; but the suppression of this evidence, and the determination not to bring him to trial on any of the charges, seem to prove that government were convinced the Spaniards had been the aggressors. On this ground, therefore, it was impossible to convict him ; yet the Spanish match depended on it, and Raleigh's life must be given as a bribe to obtain the Infanta. It was the parting warning of Gondomar, that should there be any slackness in this, it would serve as ground for future and final discontent ;* and the only method that remained was to induce him to attempt his escape ; to engage in a correspondence with the French government, which might be construed into treason ; or to commit some outrage.

When it was found that he had at first no intention of flight ; that his prudence declined the assistance of the French agent ; and that he stood upon the consciousness of his innocence, the persons placed about him talked of the promise made to the Spanish ambassador, of the unforgiving temper of the king, and of the power of his enemies ; orders for his stricter restraint were intimated to him ; the Tower was hinted at ; and the

* Bacon's Letters, by Birch, p. 178.

sentence of death, which still hung over his head, was recalled to his recollection. These arts, as we have seen, prevailed ; the love of life, and the hope that he might yet vindicate his character and the practicability of his project by another voyage, induced him to listen to the suggestions of his betrayers, and he became a victim to the cunning of the government, and the treachery of its instruments.

The truth of these observations is strikingly demonstrated by the proceedings which followed his return to the Tower. A commission composed of some members of the privy-council, amongst whom we find Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, Lord-chancellor Bacon, and Sir Edward Coke, of whose unfavourable opinions he had already had severe experience, was appointed to examine the prisoner. Before these dignitaries he was accused of having fraudulently pretended that he went to discover a mine, when his real object was to recover his liberty, and commence his career as a pirate ; he was charged with a design to plunge the country into a war with Spain ; with having abandoned his ship's company, and expressed himself disrespectfully of the king ; with having feigned madness to excite the royal compassion ; and with an attempt to escape. The two last charges Raleigh admitted, justifying them by the natural desire felt by every man to preserve his life. On none of the other points could the ingenuity of his judges and the pains taken to collect evidence prove the slightest matter against him. He answered them all, and demonstrated that they were frivolous and absurd. For the mine, the sincerity of his intentions was, he said, amply proved by his taking out a company of miners, and their tools and apparatus, which cost him £2000. As to the attack upon the Spaniards, it was accidental and against his orders. He repelled with indignation the charge of either leaving his men or exposing them to greater danger than he himself had shared ; and he declared that all he had ever said touching the king was, "that he was undone by the confidence he had placed

in his majesty, and that he knew his life would be sacrificed to state purposes.”*

During these proceedings the attorney-general having alluded to the royal clemency which had so long spared his life after his condemnation at Winchester, Raleigh protested that he believed the king did in his conscience clear him from all guiltiness of the fact then charged against him ; and indeed, added he, “I know that his majesty hath been heard to say, with reference to these proceedings, that he would not wish to be tried by a Middlesex jury.” He stated also, that Dr Turner, his physician in the Tower, had informed him Sir Francis Gawdy, one of the judges who sat on the trial, had declared on his deathbed, that “the justice of England had never been so degraded and injured as by the condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh.” These particulars appear in a manuscript note preserved in the State-paper Office, from which some interesting extracts have lately been given to the public ; and it is evident that Raleigh evinced during the examinations the same spirit, acuteness, eloquence, and command of temper, which had distinguished him on his trial.† The only result of this investigation was the admission of his attempt to escape. That this was only a natural impulse in the circumstances under which he was placed, all will readily admit ; some may even be disposed to regard it as a necessary duty ; and in a letter without date, addressed about this time to the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Walter vindicates himself in this striking manner :—

“ * * * That which doth comfort my soul in this offence is, that even in the offence itself I had no other intent than his majesty’s service, and to make his majesty know that my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth ; and which, with one ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured, or to have died ; being resolved, as it is well known, to have done it from Plymouth, had

* Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 437.

† Ibid. p. 438.

I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not only to recover his majesty's gracious opinion, but have destroyed all those malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that gentleman whom I so much trusted (my keeper), and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but testify; and wherein, if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witness. Yea, that gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back toward London, I desired to save no other treasure than the exact description of those places in the Indies.* That I meant to go hence as a discontented man, God, I trust, and mine own actions will dissuade his majesty (whom neither the loss of my estate, thirteen years' imprisonment, and the denial of my pardon, could beat from his service; and the opinion of being accounted a fool or rather distract, by returning as I did unpardoned, balanced with my love to his majesty's person and estate) had no place at all in my heart.

"It was the last severe letter from my lords for the speedy bringing of me up, and the impatience of dishonour, that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment, never to recover my reputation lost, which strengthened me in my late, and too-late-lamented resolution if his majesty's mercy do not abound,—if his majesty do not pity my age, and scorn to take the extremest and utmost advantage of my errors,—if his majesty, in his great charity, do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-saving natural impulsion without all ill intent, and those of an ill heart,—and that your lordship, remarkable in the world for the nobleness of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my intercessor. Whereby your lordship shall bind a hundred gentlemen of my kindred to honour

* There is preserved in the State-paper Office, an "Inventory of such Things as were found on the Body of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knycht, the 15 day of August 1618." Among the different items are "One Plott of Guiana and the River Orenoque," "The Description of the River Orenoque," and "A Plott of Panama." See p. 344.

your memory, and bind me, for all the time of that life which your lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper ; and ever bind me to remain your most humble servant,

“ W. RALEIGH.”

This letter produced no effect. The king had determined that Raleigh should die, and the only question was, in what manner the sacrifice should be accomplished. His commissioners had been baffled ; but it was still hoped something might be discovered to constitute the subject of a second trial, or at least justify the execution of the old sentence. It was suspected that he still communicated secretly with the French agent, who had already offered to assist his escape ; but as his prudence was found equal to defeat any public examination, it was determined to subject him to a vigilant system of superintendence, by employing as his keeper an emissary of government, who should gain his confidence and induce him to discover enough to form ground for his condemnation. The lieutenant of the Tower, under whose charge Sir Walter had hitherto remained, was Sir Allen Apsley, the father of the celebrated Mrs Lucy Hutchinson, who has left in her Memoirs this amiable character of him : “He was the father of all his prisoners, sweetening with such compassionate kindness their restraint, that the affliction of a prison was not felt in those days ; he had also a singular kindness for all persons who were eminent in learning or in arms.” So excellent a person was not fitted for the office of a spy ; and accordingly the king, with the advice of Secretary Naunton, selected Sir Thomas Wilson, whose qualifications promised more success. He was a man of learning and refinement, but of great cunning ; and under the specious mask of religion and benevolence he concealed, as his letters abundantly demonstrate, a mean and cruel disposition. “ His instructions were to take the exclusive charge of Raleigh in the Tower, ‘ to keep him safe, to suffer no persons to come at him except such as were necessary for his diet, &c. ;’ and he was directed to draw from him

such information, either with respect to his communication with the French ambassador or his Guiana expedition in general, as might conduce to the object which the government had in view ;” namely, the speedy condemnation of the prisoner. “ Sir Thomas Wilson,” says Mr Jardine, “ was at this time keeper of the state-papers, and there are preserved in the office over which he presided his own original minutes of the conversation and conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh whilst under his charge in the Tower. On the perusal of these papers, it is difficult to say whether the preponderating feeling is sympathy for the captive, or disgust and indignation for his unfeeling and treacherous keeper. Sir Thomas Wilson entered upon his charge on the 11th of September, and from that time until the 15th of October, when he was withdrawn from the Tower, his minutes and daily reports to Secretary Naunton show a system of rigid observation and of artful ensnaring espionage on his part, which was never for a moment relaxed. Raleigh’s own servant was immediately dismissed, and a man appointed by Wilson took his place. Lady Raleigh and her son were excluded from the Tower ; but she was allowed, and even invited to correspond freely with her husband ; and then the notes which she sent, as well as Raleigh’s answers, were intercepted by Sir Thomas Wilson’s man, and sent to the king and council for their perusal before they were delivered. Sir Thomas Wilson himself never stirred from his prisoner from the time he opened his lodging in the morning, till with his own hand he locked him up for the night : at his meals, at his devotions, and during the attendance of his physician and surgeon, this persevering keeper never quitted his apartment. His own feeling towards his unhappy prisoner, and his zeal in the unworthy task in which he was employed, are manifested by the language which he constantly uses respecting him in his reports and letters : he calls him ‘ hypocrite’ and ‘ arch impostor,’ with other terms of reproach ; and says he never dealt with one ‘ *tam ingeniosé nequam.*’ ‘ The king of Heaven preserve your

majesty from having many such dangerous subjects! Having removed his prisoner into apartments of greater security than those in which he had been placed by Sir Allen Apsley, Sir Thomas Wilson writes to Sir Robert Naunton, one of the secretaries of state, thus: ‘I have removed this man into a safer and higher lodging, which, though it seemeth nearer heaven, yet there is there no means to escape but into hell.’ Again, in a letter to the king, he says,—‘I hope, by such means as I shall use, to work out more than I have yet done; if not, I know no other means but a rack or a halter.’* It is mortifying to observe the degrading discoveries which these papers make of the feelings and disposition of the king. James acted as principal inquisitor over Raleigh; he personally directed the strictest seclusion and superintendence, suggested the mode of examination, inspected the intercepted letters, and exhibited much disappointment that his own ingenuity and that of his assistants should be in the end entirely baffled.† At the same time when Wilson was appointed to take the place of Apsley and to wait upon Raleigh, this unfortunate man was completely broken in health. He had been afflicted during the whole period of his imprisonment by an intermitting fever and ague; his body was covered with painful imposthumes; his left side so much swollen as to occasion perpetual uneasiness; and he was still lame from the wound received in the Cadiz expedition. Wilson was first introduced to him by Apsley as he lay in bed; and Raleigh, after bidding him welcome, and hearing that he was appointed to take charge of him, dejectedly exclaimed, “Let the king do with me what he will; for never man was more desirous to die!”‡ This speech

* Jardine’s Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 489-491.

† By the favour of Lord Melbourne I have been permitted to examine and make extracts from the papers relative to Sir Walter Raleigh, preserved in the State-paper Office; and whilst I avail myself of the very interesting passages derived from the same source by Mr Jardine, I am thus able to add some other particulars not published by that gentleman.

‡ See Extracts from Wilson’s first Letter to Secretary Naunton, Appendix.

and other particulars were reported to Naunton; and the following note, written by that minister in reply, evinces the temper in which the communication was received:—

“SIR,—I read most of both your letters to his majesty, who allows well of your care and discretion. I hope you will every day get ground of that hypocrite that is so desirous to die, mortified man that he is! His majesty was well pleased with your past services; he will think long for the ripening and mellowing of the observations and conferences by which you are to work upon that *cripple*. The best comfort I can give you is, I hope you shall not long be troubled with him: *Proin tu, quod factururus es, fac citó, et frontem occasionis arripe, et preme quantum potes; potes enim, et sane vis. Vale!*”*

If any thing were wanting to prove the king's animosity against Raleigh, this letter would amply supply the defect; whilst it exposes at the same time the unworthiness of the artifices and instruments employed by the royal inquisitor. There is preserved in the State-paper Office an original document of Wilson's, entitled, “A Relation of what hath passed and been observed by me, since my coming to Sir Walter Raleigh, upon Friday the 11th of September,” which throws a clear light on the conferences between this spy of government and the prisoner. After alluding to the disease and debility under which he found him labouring, Wilson describes the manner in which he proceeded to fulfil his instructions. Having introduced himself “as sent by the king out of his majesty's gracious and princely goodness, because he knew him to be a man of more honesty than cunning,” he urged Raleigh to disclose whatever he knew might be of importance to the public service, in which

* “Therefore do quickly what you have to do; seize opportunity by the forehead, and press as much as you can: I know you both can and will. Farewell!”—Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 492.

case there was no doubt he would experience the royal clemency. To this Sir Walter answered with the greatest earnestness, that if he were aware of any such thing, he would, sick as he was, write it that very night to his majesty,—an asseveration which had little effect, for his keeper proceeded to charge him with a treasonable correspondence with France. With much cunning he attempted to persuade him that it would be as well to reveal what had been already confessed by others: his conference with the French agent on coming home, and his interview with the ambassador of the same nation before setting out, were, he hinted, already well known. He pressed him to acknowledge his real purpose in escaping to that country; what promises were made to him; what employment he was to receive there; and what “plots and designs were thereupon depending.” The craft and duplicity of Wilson is strongly depicted in this sentence of his journal, sent to Secretary Naunton: “Thus far I went with him; but yesternight, having before let out some pieces of these things, that he might think it came hardly from me as from myself, he made me a long answer, and told me in gross what he had done before in retail: saying, ‘Whatsoever is confessed by others, sure I am there is nothing can touch my fidelity to the king nor my country.’” He affirmed that the only conference he had with the French agent was merely compliment, and sought by that gentleman with whom he had no intimate acquaintance. With regard to the French ambassador, it was true, indeed, that before his voyage he had come to see his ship; but it was a visit, he said, simply of curiosity, and he was influenced by the same motives which had brought on the same errand the ambassadors of Venice and Savoy, and even some of the Spaniards. His own purpose, he affirmed, in escaping to France, was solely to shelter himself from danger until the storm blew over, and he might have an opportunity, either through the influence of the queen or of his other friends, to recover favour. As to promises made him, he protested he had none; but for employment he had

hoped he might be able to do some service against the Spaniard, seeing he was acquainted as well with the nature of his resources as with the weak points upon which he might be attacked. With regard to messages, letters, or plots, his only plot, he declared, was to save his life by an escape somewhere, being alarmed by the letters which he had received from some lords, his friends, which informed him that the king was determined to have strict justice inflicted on his person; and, having once determined to fly, he knew no fitter place than France.

Such were Raleigh's answers; and although nothing could be more clear and ingenuous, Wilson was by no means satisfied with them. "After," says he in his notes, "he had made me answer in this fashion, I told him I saw I had no ground in his affection and confidence, for he would intrust no more to me than to others; 'but, sir,' said I, 'if you would have opened unto me the closets of your heart, and faithfully let me know what is there, I would have engaged myself for you as far as my life and poor estate would reach, in an assurance of your life, safety, and recovery of his majesty's favour.' 'Oh sir,' quoth he, 'how should a man be assured of that?—the king will say when all is told, if a man could tell any thing more, "Why, the knave was afraid of his life, else I should never have known it; and therefore no, God-americy."—Then I fell again," continues Wilson, "into the true common-place of the actions and example of his majesty; how there never was a better king since King David, nor before; and put him in mind how mercifully he did by Joab, Abiathar, Shemei, and others, who had so grievously offended him, yet would he not suffer them to be put to death in his time. 'No,' quoth he, 'but he left commission to his son to do it, and so did Henry the Seventh by Pole, that was sent unto him by the emperor. But—' saith he, and there made a stop, pausing a while as if he had some great matter to say, with an assured contemplative countenance; and as he was about to speak, supper came in; and because I would not have

him forget, I staid and supt with him, and after supper would have drawn him into that mind where I left him before, but he had gotten hard. What he feareth most seems to be, that if the match with Spain hold, the Spaniard will pursue him to death or worse punishment; and if it break off, then we must needs couple with France, and he shall mar his market by betraying the trust which *perhaps* they have put in him.”*

The use of the word “perhaps” in this sentence proves how completely *conjectural* was the opinion regarding the treasonable intercourse of Raleigh with France; whilst at the same time Wilson did not scruple to assert a direct falsehood,—viz. that the king had acquired complete proof of it. The great matter of suspicion, upon which the king’s agent never ceased to interrogate Raleigh, was his interview with the French agent; but upon this point his prisoner invariably adhered to the same account, which he confirmed on the scaffold, that the object of Le Clerc’s visit was simply to facilitate his escape to France; that he had no correspondence with that government, treasonable or otherwise; that he had no commission whatever from the French king,—a point upon which immediate proof might be procured, as such commissions were all upon record, and might be seen for a French crown; and that his real intention in the voyage to Guiana was the working of a gold mine, which was situated near the town, as could be proved by the most satisfactory evidence.

Disappointed in his main object, Wilson appears to have been driven to the system of exaggerating trifles, and discovering, or rather inventing, contradictions and incongruities in Raleigh’s discourse, of which he sent a daily report to the king and Secretary Naunton. Unimportant and often ridiculous as these memorials are, they contain some interesting particulars of the last days of this illustrious man. On the 12th September, at night, Wilson’s Journal contains this remarkable passage:

* Notes by Sir Thomas Wilson, in the State-paper Office.

“ This evening, finding him reading the Psalms, I told him that there he had the best comfort ; that there he had a man and a king, and the best man and the best king that ever was, who had as great affliction as ever any had ; and yet by his constancy and faithfulness he overcame all ; and so might he. Hereupon he began and told me from the beginning to the end all his misfortunes ; how first, at his majesty's coming in, Northampton, Suffolk, Salisbury, and the rest, plotted to get him and Cobham out of favour, and to get every thing into their own hands ; then he went to the arraignment at Winchester, and said, ‘ it was as unjust a condemnation, without proof and testimony, as ever was known.’ So went he along his thirteen years' imprisonment, and the means he took to procure liberty for his voyage ; his disasters there, and all the tedious circumstances ; and then the betraying of him by Sir Lewis Stukely on his return. After this I told him, if he would but disclose what he knew, the king would forgive him, and do him all favour. ‘ Aye,’ quoth he, ‘ how should I be assured of that ? The king will say, when it is told, “ The craven was afraid of his life, else he would not have told it.” ’ * *

“ *13th September.*—This day, upon his complaint of his misery, I gave him counsel and comfort to bear his affliction with patience, upon the assurance of God's mercy, and the example of such as God had suffered to be as grievously afflicted as flesh and blood could bear, and yet had restored them to as great felicity as ever. He took occasion thereupon to commend the magnanimity of the Romans, who would rather have their deaths by their own hands, than endure any that was base or reproachful. To which I answered, that ‘ they were such as knew not God, nor the danger of their souls to be damned to perpetual torment of hell for destroying their bodies, which God had made a temple for the Holy Ghost to dwell.’ To which he said, ‘ it was a disputable question ; for divers did hold opinion that a man may do it, and yet not desperately despair of God's mercy, but die in God's favour.’ Whereto this discourse of his

tended it is easily seen ; but I think he hath no such Roman courage. Mr Lieutenant tells me he hath had like discourse with him heretofore, who charged him with such intent upon occasion of having so many apothecary's drugs, and such like, ' which it were well,' saith he, ' were not suffered to be here.' ' Why,' saith Raleigh, ' if you take away all these means from me, yet, if I had such a mind, I could run my head against a post and kill myself.' After, he fell into discourse of the three last kings that were killed in France. * * He hath often tried me, by introductions, to discourse of matters on which he might have gathered more out of my answers than I wished, to which I have used either diversions or such answers as I thought fit or safe, or at least silence, or pleading ignorance, which I hold to be the surest armour of proof for those that are to converse with cunning."

Soon after this it appears that Raleigh had earnestly requested permission to write to the king ; and his keeper, at the same time that he made this request known at court, suggested that his own wife, Lady Wilson, should repair to the Tower to watch his prisoner at any moment when he was absent. This produced a letter from Naunton, proving the minuteness with which every particular connected with Raleigh was personally superintended by James. It commences thus :—

" SIR,—I have acquainted his majesty with your desire to have your lady with you to attend carefully in your absence, which she is fitter to do than any servant, which his majesty willingly condescended unto. I told him further of Sir Walter Raleigh's desire of leave to write to him, which first he seemed to take amiss from me ; but after I acquainted him with his cautious diplomatic not to offend France, in case the match should not proceed with Spain, at length I obtained his answer that he was content to vouchsafe him leave to write to himself, with this charge that he should unfold all the truth sincerely, without respect of satisfying or unsatis-

fying any but his majesty, to whom only he oweth allegiance, and without playing [dissembling] as he had done with the lords of the council, and if he should fail in either of these two conditions, he should but augment his fault and contumation both."

The letter, from which this is an extract, is dated September 16th, at Whitehall. On the following day, the 17th, Raleigh was removed by Sir Thomas Wilson "into a safer and higher lodging. I have by this means," so he writes to Naunton, "seen all his trinkets that he hath with him, and taken an inventory of every thing he hath, because I would not have myself or servants charged with what is not there, which is nothing of value, as your honour may see by this copy enclosed.* As for the diamond which is spoken of, he saith he had never any such of Queen Elizabeth's giving; all that he had Sir Lewis Stukely took from him, save only a sapphire ring, which is his seal, which he showed me. But to the matter, for these are *παρεργα*:—I remember that among other passages of our speeches and divers questions, one was, what kind of man the French agent was? I replied, 'Sir, why do you ask me this question? you know him better than I;' which he protested he did not. Howbeit, I wrought it out of him yesternight, that the agent was with him at his house on the Sunday morning, brought by De Chesne, whom he asking what gentleman it was in the white feather, he answered, 'C'est monsieur l'agent.' Then I pressed him to know what conference they had; he said he would write it to the king if he might have leave. I told him he should know that shortly, for I had written to that purpose to the court. This passed yesternight; after which Mr Lieutenant came from the court, and sent out to speak with me,

* The inventory taken by Wilson does not exist in the State-paper Office, but there is there preserved an original paper docketed on the back, "Inventory of Sir Walter Rawleigh his jewells and things delivered to Sir Lewis Stukely." It is a curious paper, and some extracts from it will be found in the Appendix.

telling me he had a message to deliver to Sir Walter Raleigh from the king, which he would do in my hearing. The substance was, that his majesty was pleased, upon my motion, to give him leave to write unto him, provided that he wrote no trivial, nor delusory, nor dilatory things; for if he did, assuredly he must look for no favour, but for death, as he had deserved; to which Sir Walter answered he would write nothing to his majesty but truth, and such things as should be material; after which I had a long discourse with him to that purpose, charging him to give his majesty satisfaction, as he tendered his own life and the reputation of his friends, which he promised to do."

The letter to the king has been lost; or perhaps it may have been destroyed, as not giving full satisfaction to his majesty, containing too bold a defence of his own conduct, and too much truth with regard to the aggression of the Spaniards; thus confuting James's preconceived notions, and setting at fault his boasted ingenuity in the detection of plots and the examination of evidence.* The letter of Wilson, however, enclosing that of Raleigh, remains. It is as follows:—

“ MOST GRATIOUS SOVEREIGN,—According to your majesty's commandment, I have employed the uttermost of my poor discretion to work out what I could from this arch-hypocrite committed to my charge, of which I have given a journal account to Mr Secretary, and in letters, with which I doubt not your majesty hath been acquainted; wherein any defect that hath been shown,

* Mr Jardine, in his late work, the *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 494, considers it probable that the letter from Raleigh to the king, published by Cayley, vol. ii. p. 153, is the same letter as that alluded to in the above notes of Wilson, which was sent, as we know, on the 18th of September. In this I cannot agree with him. The letter sent by Raleigh on the 18th of September contained, as we know from the MS. notes of Wilson, *two points* amongst others; the one an explanation of his interview with De Chesne, the other an allusion to a promise made by Wilson of the king's mercy. Now the letter in Cayley has not the slightest allusion either to De Chesne or to this promise.

I trust your majesty will impute it to want of cunning, not want of faithfulness, it being the first part that ever I acted with a man *tam ingeniosé nequam*. Your majesty may be pleased to receive herewith his letter, wherein he voweth to me that he hath laid open all the secret closets of his heart and knowledge ; whereof he offered to show me some part, but I told him I durst not presume to see it before your majesty, to whom, by your gracious leave, it was to be written. The king of heaven preserve your majesty from having many such dangerous subjects !”

This letter of Wilson's, which is a scroll of that sent to the king, is dated from the Tower 18th September 1618 ; and on the back is this important memorandum. “ 19th September.—Mem.—To certify what Sir W. R. saith of one Christofero that he brought home with him now, who was the governor's man of Guiana, who will take it on his life that he is able to show and say how there are seven or eight several mines of gold that are there ; and wisheth this man may be entertained in some nobleman's service, for occasion that may ensue.” The circumstance here stated is corroborated by Keymis in his letter to Raleigh. “ We have,” says he, “ the governor's servant prisoner, that waited on him in his bedchamber, and knows all things that concerned his master ;” and Raleigh himself, in his apology, alludes to the same person when he says, “ Had the companies' commanders but pinched the governor's man whom they had in their possession, he could have told them of two or three gold mines and a silver mine, not above four miles from the town, and given them the names of their possessors.* Yet although Raleigh thus entreated the government to convince themselves of the reality of these gold mines, by the evidence of an unexceptionable witness who had the best opportunity of being informed upon the subject, it did not suit the purposes of the king

* Raleigh's Apology. Works, vol. viii. pp. 492, 496.

to investigate the matter ; and we shall afterwards find the monarch asserting, in the face of the most direct evidence to the contrary, that no such mine existed.

Having despatched his letter, Raleigh awaited with natural anxiety its effect on the royal mind, whilst at the same time he contemplated the probability of death with equanimity and cheerfulness. "This day [21st September]," says Wilson, "I was sitting by him while the barber was trimming and keeming my head. He told me he was wont to keem his head a whole hour every day before he came into the Tower. Asking him why he did not so still, he said, ' he would know first who should have it ; he would not bestow so much cost of it for the hangman.'"^{*} It appears that Wilson had held out a promise of the king's mercy, and that Raleigh pleaded this in his letter. With such conduct James was deeply offended, and it required an humble and earnest letter from Wilson to make his peace with his master, who dreaded lest his determination to sacrifice Sir Walter to the indignation of Spain should be rendered nugatory by any stipulations of pardon. "I must not deny," says Wilson in his letter to Naunton, "that I have done so divers times (that is, pleaded the king's mercy), finding hope to work more with him than fear ; but I did it as Mr Lieutenant, and Sir Walter Raleigh could not but think it to come of myself, without instructions from any, or any way engaging his majesty." It is thus evident that Raleigh was induced by a promise of the king's pardon to disclose faithfully all he knew ; having done so, James was disappointed that his confession contained nothing which could be turned against him, and refused to extend his forgiveness, on the ground that Wilson had acted without any authority from the king. Such a manner of proceeding is perfectly consistent with all that we know of the character of this prince.

Having thus entirely failed in their examination of the prisoner, Wilson and Naunton, under the directions

* MS. Journal of Wilson in the State-paper Office.

of the king, endeavoured by various other methods to extract matter of condemnation against him. Lady Carew, a connexion of Raleigh, who was supposed to enjoy much of his confidence, was strictly interrogated regarding his intercourse with the French agent; his own wife and household servants were rigidly examined; the private letters which passed between that faithful and affectionate woman and her husband were intercepted and opened. But in this complicated process of inquiry nothing was discovered that did not corroborate the simple story which Raleigh himself had previously given.

Finding at last that all hopes of mercy were vain, Sir Walter tranquilly resigned himself to the contemplation of the near approach of death. "This night," says Wilson in his journal, dated 26th September 1618, "upon occasion of my saying I hoped I had not long to stay here, he said, 'When you are gone I shall be delivered to the secular power, as they call it; and yet,' said he, 'if the Spanish match hold, it were no policy to have me put to death; for,' saith he, 'I have a great store of friends in England, and my death will but preserve envy.' I marvelled at this discourse; but, considering farther of it, I remembered it had agreement with his former discourse in the afternoon, telling what great kindred he had, naming the greatest and almost all in the west country.

"*27th September.*—This night after supper Mr Lieutenant's man coming home, told me that his master could not arrive to-night. I going up to see him [Raleigh] before his going to bed, and telling him, he presently fell in doubt that his staying was about a resolution for his death. Soon after he fell into a discourse how Stukely would have no means left him to kill himself, and therefore would have all his drugs, knives, and other things taken from him; but thereupon said, that he would sure desire to die in the light, not in darkness, that he might make some be known what they were."*

* MS. Journal of Wilson in the State-paper Office.

The next passage of the journal proves strikingly the inveteracy of the king against Raleigh in resisting the entreaties of the queen, and the dying request of the Earl of Winchester. "It is reported that the queen hath begged his life by means of his lady, who is great with her; and here it is held that the late Earl of Winchester, deceased, at the time when the king came to visit him, a little before his death, told the king that he never looked to see his majesty more, and therefore he would beg but one thing of him, and that was the life of an old servant that had incurred his majestic's grievous indignation; yet because he had been so dearly respected of that noble queen, his predecessor, that he would save his life and let him die in peace, and not come to an untimely end. This he meant by Sir Walter Raleigh; but whether the king did grant it or no, the party could not tell."*

Not long after this, Wilson, afraid lest his enemies should represent to the king, that after all his promises he had failed in extracting any thing to form the ground of Raleigh's condemnation, employed himself in drawing up for the royal inspection, a paper, entitled, "Observations of Contrarieties in Sir Walter Raleigh's Speeches or Discourses, delivered to his Majesty in his Council Chamber in Whitehall; which, he adds, "the Lords told me he read unto them the next day." This memorial is introduced by a letter from Wilson to the king, and the first sentence sufficiently explains its object:—
"MOST GRATIOUS SOVEREIGN,—Seeing it hath pleased your majesty to confront the carriage of this arch-impostor with my simplicity and plainness, whereby some have been apt to conceive that I have not in all points taken the discreetest course in dealing with him, I will be bold to relate unto your majesty how, out of the inferences of his repugnant answers at divers times, I have pressed from him all those things which he hath confessed to your majesty by his letters, and to myself by

* MS. Journal of Wilson in the State-paper Office.

words, which he ever impudently and confidently denied to the lords-commissioners." The memorial, in which Wilson's ingenuity, sharpened by malignity and self-interest, is exerted to detect contradictions in the statements made at different times by Raleigh, is perhaps one of the best evidences which could be adduced of his innocence. The discrepancies and presumptions of guilt upon which he insists are so trivial as to corroborate the prisoner's repeated declarations that his intentions were sincere and loyal. The evidence of a friend may be liable to suspicion, but that of a declared enemy is above all challenge.

The papers of Sir Thomas Wilson furnish us with the concluding scene of this inquisitorial drama. On the 4th of October Naunton directed a letter to him, enclosing, as returned by the king, Lady Raleigh's communication, with directions from his majesty to deliver it to Sir Walter, in order that they might discover what they could by his answer. It is not easy to conceive meaner conduct than this of James. By his directions, this faithful and affectionate woman was confined a prisoner in her own house, and encouraged to correspond with her unfortunate husband in the Tower. Her letters were intercepted and read by the king, they were then sent to Sir Walter; his replies, in their turn, were opened, and their contents, after having been duly weighed by his majesty, were communicated to his council for their consideration.* Yet after all, they could find no new ground of accusation, and were compelled to have recourse to the old sentence passed upon him fifteen years before.

* "Mr Secretary to me, 4th October, with my Lady Raleigh's letter returned from the king." Such is the docquet by Sir Thomas Wilson on the back of an original letter of Secretary Naunton, dated at Whitehall, 4th October 1618. The letter commences thus:—"SIR,—His majesty would have you deliver this to Sir Walter Raleigh;" and it goes on to direct Wilson to discover what he can by his answer, "which I pray you send me back as soon as you can, that I may acquaint the lords with it. So, in haste, I bid you and your lady farewell. Your assured R. NAUNTON."—MS. Papers in the State-paper Office.

But although foiled in his attempts, James's resolution to sacrifice Raleigh underwent no change. He had already written to the Spanish court, expressing his willingness, either that the prisoner should be executed in his own country, or, if it was more agreeable to the majesty of Castile, be sent to suffer death in Spain; and about the 15th of October, the orders, for so they may be called, of Philip were received in England. They were couched in the form of a despatch, addressed to Don Sanchez de Ulloa, the Spanish agent, dated at San Lorenzo, on the 5th of October, and signed by the king. It states briefly "that having received King James's letter through Gondomar, he did not delay to intimate, that it would be more agreeable to him that the punishment of Raleigh should take place in England; and as the offence was notorious, that its chastisement should be exemplary and immediate." This last injunction appears to have been strictly fulfilled. Sir Thomas Wilson was hastily recalled from the Tower, and commanded once more to deliver his prisoner into the charge of Sir Allen Apsley, the lieutenant. Raleigh received this as an intimation that his immediate execution was resolved on, and expressed no regret. "My age," said he, "is fit for the grave. What have I to do with life? My reputation is lost, my body weak and full of pain. Nothing can be more welcome to me than death." Lady Raleigh was set at liberty, and the lords-commissioners, by whom Sir Walter had been already examined, were required instantly to report upon the proper mode of proceeding against him.

To these learned persons the case presented great difficulties; and there is something very revolting in the fixed resolution, on the one hand, that whatever proceeding was adopted should lead to death, and the tedious discussions, on the other, regarding the most legal mode of accomplishing this purpose. After many consultations, the commissioners delivered their opinion, that the prisoner, having been attainted of high treason, could not be judicially called to account for any crime since

committed. In this dilemma they recommended that the king, with the warrant for his execution addressed to the Lieutenant of the Tower, should publish a narrative of his late offences; and a writ of privy-seal was immediately despatched to the judges, directing them to order the execution of the sentence. But these grave persons were thrown into new difficulties by the singularity of the case, and its manifest injustice. They declared that neither a writ of privy-seal, nor even a warrant under the great seal to the judges of the King's Bench, could entitle them, after so long an interval, to pronounce sentence of execution against any prisoner without giving him an opportunity of pleading in person against it. It was said, he might have a pardon to show, or might urge that he was a different person; and to get rid of these difficulties they resolved to bring him to the bar by a writ of *habeas corpus*, and demand what reasons he had to give why execution should not be awarded. The king approved of this method, and having delivered his final orders to the judges, and signed the warrant for execution, he commanded Sir Walter to be informed that it was his pleasure he should prepare for death.

This was on the 24th of October, and on the 28th, though Raleigh lay sick of a fever, he was raised from bed at eight in the morning, with an ague fit upon him, and conveyed to the King's Bench at Westminster. Being placed at the bar, the attorney-general, Yelverton, observed, that the prisoner fifteen years ago had been found guilty of high treason, since which time his majesty had mercifully abstained from the infliction of punishment; but it was now his royal pleasure that the former judgment should be carried into effect. The record of conviction was then read; and Raleigh being asked the usual question, what he could say why execution should not pass against him, requested indulgence, since his voice was weak from his late sickness. On being told his voice was audible enough, he summoned his remaining strength, and proceeded: "My Lord, all I can say is

this ; that the judgment I received to die so long since, cannot now, I hope, be strained to take away my life ; for since it was his majesty's pleasure to grant me a Commission to proceed on a voyage beyond the seas, wherein I had power, as marshal, on the life and death of others ; so, under favour I presume I am discharged of that judgment. By that commission I gained new life and vigour ; for he that hath power over the lives of others, must surely be master of his own. Under my commission I departed the land, and undertook a voyage to honour my sovereign, and to enrich his kingdom with gold, of the ore whereof this hand hath found and taken in Guiana ; but the voyage, notwithstanding my endeavour, had no other success than what was fatal to me ;— the loss of my son and the wasting of my whole estate." He was now about to enter upon an explanation of the causes of his failure, but was interrupted by the chief-justice, who informed him that all such matter was foreign to the purpose, and that the commission did not infer a pardon, treason being a crime which must be pardoned by words of a special nature, and not by implication. Unless, therefore, he could make good some other plea in defence, execution, it was observed, must be awarded. Sir Walter replied, that since such was his lordship's opinion, he could only put himself under the mercy of the king ; his majesty himself, as well as some others who were now present, having been of opinion that in his former trial he had received but hard measure. " Had he not been anew exasperated against me," said he, " certain I am I might have lived a thousand years before he would have taken advantage thereof." At this time the lord-chief-justice was Sir Henry Montague, a man in temper and disposition very different from Coke ; and the manner in which he pronounced sentence was full of sympathy and good feeling. On his concluding with the usual words, " Execution is granted," Raleigh addressed the court with the calmness which had never forsaken him. " My Lords," said he, " I desire this much favour, that I may not be cut off suddenly ; but

may be granted some time before my execution, to settle my affairs and my mind more than they yet are ; for I have something to do in discharge of my reputation and my conscience, and somewhat to satisfy his majesty in. I would beseech the favour of pen, ink, and paper, thereby to discharge myself of some trusts of a worldly nature, that were put upon me. I crave not this to gain one minute of life, for now being old, sickly, disgraced, and certain to go to death, life is wearisome unto me. And now I beseech your lordships that when I come to die I may have leave to speak freely at my farewell. And here," said he, with great solemnity, "I take God to be my judge, before whom I shall shortly appear, that I was never disloyal to his majesty, which I shall justify where I shall not fear the face of any king on earth ; and so I beseech you all to pray for me."* Sir Walter was then removed to the Gatehouse. The warrant for execution dispensed with the more ignominious death by hanging, and ordered him to be beheaded.

It had been his only request that he should be allowed a short interval to settle his earthly concerns and provide for his soul ; but with this the king did not think proper to comply. He had been brought up to receive sentence on the 28th of October, and on returning to prison he was informed that the execution must take place next morning at nine o'clock,—an indecent haste which we are scarcely prepared to expect even from so heartless a prince as James. Yet the cruelty of the monarch only served to bring out in finer relief the character of his victim ; and though it is evident that the accounts of his behaviour are imperfect in some respects, and in others exaggerated, enough remains to prove that he died with Christian faith and simplicity.

On his way from the court to prison, he observed to some friends who deplored his misfortunes, that the world itself was but a larger prison, out of which some

* Hargrave, *State Trials*, vol. viii. App. No. iv. Jardine's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 500.

are daily selected for execution ; and on hearing that the king had peremptorily rejected all petitions in his favour, even that of the queen, he expressed no disappointment.

To him death seemed divested of all that was gloomy and terrific. Raleigh had never been pardoned ; he was liable during the long period of his confinement to be called away any day or any hour to execution ; and it is probable that this circumstance had rendered the contemplation of sudden dissolution,—an idea so appalling to an ordinary mind,—to him the subject of quiet, natural, and frequent thought. His firm belief in divine revelation, in the mercy of God to a penitent soul which rested on its Saviour, invested his meditations on this last scene with a glow of cheerfulness and hope. To others Death might be the king of terrors,—to him he was a familiar and not repulsive companion, the thoughts of whom had been so long the inmates of his cell that when he met him on the scaffold it was almost as an old friend.

His last interview with his wife was simple but deeply affecting. It took place on Thursday night (he was to suffer on Friday morning), and it was midnight before she left the prison. He said he meant to leave with her a paper to acquaint the world with his sentiments, in case they refused him liberty to speak on the scaffold ; and fearful lest his feelings in talking of his little son should be too distressing, he avoided the subject and affectionately entreated her to leave him. Raleigh had yet much to do, and a few brief hours to accomplish his task, and they who know any thing of human affection, and of the distracting effects of sorrow, will not wonder that he should desire to be spared the agony which might have unfitted him for his duty. On parting, his wife in a flood of tears informed him that she had obtained the favour of disposing of his body. “It is well, Bess,” said he, smiling, “that thou mayst dispose of that dead thou hadst not always the disposing of when alive.” When alone he sat down and wrote the following paper, which he entitled,

“ AN ANSWER TO SOME THINGS AT MY DEATH.

“ 1. I did never receive any direction from my Lord Carew to make my escape, nor did I ever tell Stukely any such thing. 2. I did never name my Lord Hay and my Lord Carew to Stukely in other words or sense, than as my honourable friends, among other lords. 3. I did never show unto Stukely any letter wherein there was £10,000 named, or any one pound; only I told him, that I hoped to procure the payment of his debts in his absence. 4. I never had commission from the French king. 5. I never saw the French king's hand or seal in my life. 6. I never had any plot or practice with the French, directly or indirectly,—nor with any other prince or state unknown to the king. 7. My true intent was to go to a mine of gold in Guiana; it was not feigned, but it is true, that such a mine there is, within three miles of St Thome. 8. I never had in my thought to go from Trinidado and leave my companies to come after to the Savage Island, as Hatby Fearn hath falsely reported. 9. I did not carry with me 100 pieces: I had with me about sixty, and brought back nearly the same number. 10. I never spake to the French Manourie any one disloyal word or dishonourable speech of the king: Nay, if I had not loved the king truly, and trusted in his goodness somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death. These things are most true, as there is a God, and as I am now to appear before his tribunal-seat, where I renounce all mercy and salvation if this be not truth. At my death, “WALTER RALEIGH.”*

Having finished this, he seems to have drawn up a few additional notes of remembrance, containing heads of the different subjects upon which, if permitted to

* Birch's Works of Raleigh, vol. ii. p. 280.—In the State-paper Office is a MS. of this same paper, entitled, “Accusations against Sir Walter Raleigh, cleared by him at his death.” It is written in a contemporary hand, and on the back of the paper are the lines, “Even such is time,” &c.

speak on the scaffold, he meant to address the people ; and taking his Bible he wrote on a blank leaf these few lines :—

“ E’en such is time ! who takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust :
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander’d all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days !
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
The Lord will raise me up, I trust.”

It may appear singular to some that we find him so employed at such a moment, but from his early youth Raleigh had been accustomed to throw his feelings into numbers. His last thoughts are solemn and full of immortality ; and their poetical dress indicates a rare tranquillity of mind.

He was not permitted to choose his own clergyman ; but Dr Tounson, at that time Dean of Westminster, received orders from the government to be with him in his religious services both in prison and on the scaffold. This divine afterwards drew up a relation of his death which was probably suppressed by the king, and a letter of the same person, which has been published, is evidently written under the fear of saying any thing that might be disagreeable to a monarch, who was wont to stretch his prerogative over the most secret communications and private thoughts of his subjects. Yet incomplete as is the only evidence which has been permitted to reach us, the history of the last hours of Raleigh is interesting and affecting.

Early in the morning the dean administered to him the holy Eucharist, which he received with deep reverence, pleading the assurance he had of the love and favour of God ; forgiving all men, and specially in this act declaring that he forgave Sir Lewis Stukely and Manourie, who had betrayed him. He expressed great fearlessness of death, and appeared to make light of it ; observing to Dr Tounson, that though to many the manner in which he was to die might appear grievous, he would rather end

his days so than by a burning fever. When cautioned not to be too hardy, and reminded that some of the dearest servants of God had shrunk back and trembled a little, "he acknowledged it to be true, expressing himself very Christianly," but giving thanks to the Almighty who had imparted to him the strength of mind never to fear death. He was persuaded, he said, that no man who knew God and feared him, could die with cheerfulness and courage unless he were assured of his love and favour; and it was evident to the pious man to whom he addressed himself, that it was from this assurance and no false ground or any principle of vain or foolish ostentation that Raleigh derived this remarkable courage. There was evidently within him a source of tranquillity and joy. He was happy to leave that world which had for many years brought to him nothing but ingratitude and disappointment; his mind was full of sweetness and forgiveness; he had been treated with signal injustice by the king, by his judges, by the jury which condemned him, by the pretended friends and kinsmen who betrayed him; yet he simply asserted his innocence, declared his unshaken loyalty to his prince, and indulged in no reflections upon the law or the government. "By the course of the law," said he, "I must die, yet leave must be given me to stand upon my innocency of the fact."

After having received the sacrament his cheerfulness increased, and he again expressed his confidence that he would convince the world that he was guiltless of the charges against him. He then took breakfast heartily, smoked, as was his practice, a pipe of tobacco, and took a cup of sack; on being asked if it pleased him, "Aye," said he, "'tis good drink, if a man might tarry by it." After this he retired for a short time to arrange his dress, in which he was usually very splendid. On this occasion it was a plain mourning suit. Under his hat was a rich-wrought nightcap. His doublet, waistcoat, and breeches were of black satin,—and over all was thrown a black wrought-velvet nightgown. Raleigh had been, in his best days, a remarkably handsome man;

and at this moment, although enfeebled by sickness, his appearance was peculiarly striking and noble.

It was now near nine, and having declared himself ready he was led to the place of execution, in the Old Palace Yard, by the Sheriffs of London and the Dean of Westminster. A great crowd had assembled, and as many pushed forward to gaze on him, among the rest one venerable old man, whose head was quite bald, came so near that Sir Walter noticed him and inquired if he wanted ought with him; the old man answered, that his only desire was to see him, and to pray God for him: "I thank thee, my good friend," said Raleigh, "and am sorry I am in no case to return thee any thing for thy good-will. "But," added he, looking at his bald head, "here, take this nightcap," removing that which he wore beneath his hat, "thou hast more need of it now than I."*

The people pressed him so much that, faint from sickness, he had nearly swooned away before he reached the scaffold, which was erected in front of the parliament-house. Amongst the spectators were the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, and Northampton, the Lords Doncaster, Sheffield, and Percy, and other knights and gentlemen. On coming to the steps he recovered, mounted them easily, and saluted those who stood near with the same graceful courtesy which usually distinguished his manners. Proclamation was then made for silence, and Raleigh standing up, although very feeble, addressed those around him. His last words have been transmitted to us by several persons who were present, and we read them almost exactly as he delivered them.

"I have had," said he, "for these two days past, two fits of an ague. Yesterday I was, notwithstanding, taken out of my bed in one of my fits, and whether I shall escape it this day or not I cannot tell. If therefore, you perceive any weakness in me, I beseech you ascribe it to my sickness rather than to myself. I thank God of his infinite goodness that he hath vouchsafed me to die

* D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. ii. p. 133.

in the sight of so noble an assembly, and not in darkness, neither in the Tower, where I have suffered so much adversity, and a long sickness. And I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed God it might not."

His weakness was now so great that he was compelled to sit down. After a short pause he again began to speak, and turning to the lords who sat in Sir Randal Crues's window, he expressed a fear lest they should not distinguish what he said, but he added that he would strain his voice that they might hear him; upon which Lord Arundel replied that they would rather come down to him, which he immediately did, along with the Earl of Northampton and the Viscount Doncaster. Sir Walter then continued as follows, looking occasionally at the paper of notes which he held in his hand:—

"There are two main points which, as I conceive, have hastened my coming hither, of which his majesty hath been informed against me. The first, that I had some practice with France,—and the reason which his majesty hath to believe so was, that when I first arrived at Plymouth I had a desire, in a small bark, to have passed to Rochelle; and afterwards, because the French agent came to my house in London. Now, my lords, for a man at any time to call God to witness a falsehood is a sin, a greater than which cannot well be imagined; but for a man to do so at the hour of death, when he hath no time to repent, is still more grievous and impious. Yet I do now call that great God to witness, before whom I am presently to render an account of what I say, that as I hope to see God, or to live in the world to come, or to have any comfort or benefit by the passion of my Saviour, I did never entertain any conspiracy, nor never had any plot or intelligence with the French king, his ambassador, or agent, neither did I ever see the French king's hand or seal, as some reported I had a commission from him at sea. Neither, as I have a soul to save, did I know of the French agent's coming to my house till I saw him in the gallery.

“The other matter alleged against me was, that I had spoken dishonourably and disloyally of the king. But my accuser was a base Frenchman, a runagate fellow, one who had no dwelling, a kind of chemical impostor, whom I afterwards knew to be perfidious. For being drawn by him into the attempt of escaping at Winchester, in which I confess my hand was touched, he being sworn to secrecy over night revealed it the next morning. It is now no time to fear or to flatter kings. I am now a subject of death, and have only to do with my God, in whose presence I stand; and I do now here solemnly declare I never spake disloyally or dishonestly of the king, either to this Frenchman or to any other. And it seemeth somewhat unjust that such a base fellow should be credited so far as he hath been.

“I confess I did attempt to escape, but it was only to save my life. I likewise confess that I feigned myself to be indisposed at Salisbury, but I hope it was no sin; for the prophet David did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall upon his beard to escape from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him as a sin: What I did was to prolong time till his majesty came, in hopes of some commiseration from him.

“I forgive that Frenchman, and Sir Lewis Stukely also, the wrongs he hath done me with all my heart, for I have received the sacrament this morning of Mr Dean, and I have forgiven all men: But that these two men are perfidious, I am bound in charity to speak, that all men may take heed of them. Sir Lewis, my keeper and kinsman, hath affirmed that I told him my Lord Carew and my Lord Doncaster here had advised me to escape; but I protest before God I never told him any such thing, neither did these lords advise me to any such matter. It is not likely I should acquaint two privy councillors of my plan of escape, nor that I should tell him—my keeper—it was their advice; neither was there any reason to tell it to him, or that he should report it, for it is well known he left me six, eight, or ten

days together alone, to go where I chose, whilst he rode about the country.

“He further accused me of having shown him a letter in which I promised him ten thousand pounds if he assisted me to escape. But this is another falsehood ; had I then been possessed of ten, or even of one thousand pounds, I could have made my peace better than by bestowing it on Stukely. The only thing I showed him was a letter, wherein it was promised that order should be taken for the payment of his debts should he consent to accompany me. One further injury he did me which, although it may appear a slight one, affects me sensibly. In our journey to London we lodged at Sir Edward Parham's, an ancient friend of mine, whose lady is my cousin-german ; and there he not only gave out, but himself told me he thought I had some dram of poison given me, to which I answered that I feared no such thing, and bade him dismiss the thought, as I was well assured of those in the house. Thus far have I said on this matter, because I know it grieves the gentleman that such a conceit should be held ; and now I take my leave of Sir Lewis. God is not only a God of revenge, but also of mercy ; and I pray God to forgive him as I myself hope to be forgiven.”

Sir Walter then cast his eye for a moment over his note of remembrance, and proceeded :

“It was told the king that I was brought by force into England ; and that when the voyage miscarried I had no intention to return again ; yet Captain Parker, Mr Tresham, Mr Leak, and divers others who knew how I was treated, can give witness to the contrary.

“It was reported also that I meant not to go to Guiana at all, and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any such matter ; but only to get my liberty, which I had not the good sense to keep. But I solemnly declare it was my full intent to go for gold, for the benefit of his majesty, myself, and those who went with me ; but all was crossed and undone by Keymis, who, seeing my son slain, and myself unpardoned, would not

discover the head of the mine, but afterwards slew himself."

At this moment, turning to the Earl of Arundel, Raleigh said, "My Lord, you being in the gallery of my ship at my departure, I remember you took me by the hand, and said you would request one thing of me, which was, whether I made a good voyage or a bad, that I would return again into England, which I then promised;—I gave you my faith I would; and so I have." "You did so," said his lordship; "it is true; and they were the last words I spoke to you." "It is enough," said Raleigh; "I am glad your lordship is here to justify my words."

"Another slander was raised against me, that I had a design to go away from my company, and leave them at Guiana; but there are a great many worthy men who were always with me, as my serjeant-major (and divers others whom he named), that knew such was never my intention. It was said too that I stinted them of fresh water; to which I answer, that every one was then, as they always must be in a ship, served by measure, and not according to their appetite, a course which all seamen know must be used amongst them; and to this strait we were then driven.

"These are the principal things upon which I thought it good to speak. Yet before I make an end, let me borrow yet further a little time of Mr Sheriff, to answer an imputation laid against me, through the jealousy of the people, which hath made my heart bleed. It is said that I was a prosecutor of the death of the Earl of Essex, and stood in a window over against him when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in disdain of him. But I take God to witness that I had no hand in his blood, and was none of those that procured his death. My Lord of Essex did not see my face at the time of his death, for I had retired far off into the armoury, where I indeed saw him, and shed tears for him; but he saw not me. It is most true I was of a contrary faction, and helped to pluck him down; but I knew my Lord of Essex to

be a noble gentleman, and always believed it would have been better for me that his life had been preserved ; for after his fall I got the hatred of those who wished me well before ; and those who set me against him, set themselves afterwards against me, and were my greatest enemies. Nay, I will further say that my soul hath many times grieved that I was not nearer to him when he suffered ; because, as I understood afterwards, he asked for me at his death, and desired to have been reconciled to me.

“And now I entreat that you all will join with me in prayer to that great God of heaven whom I have grievously offended, that he will of his almighty goodness extend to me forgiveness ; being a man full of all vanity, and one who hath lived a sinful life in such callings as have been most inducing to it ; for I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a courtier, all of them courses of wickedness and vice ; but I trust he will not only cast away my sins from me, but will receive me into everlasting life,—and so, having made my peace with God, I bid you all heartily farewell.”

Raleigh, though weak, delivered this address with gracefulness and animation. He then embraced the lords, and others of his friends who were present ; and turning himself in particular to my Lord Arundel, entreated him to use his influence with the king, that no defamatory writings against him might be published after his death. The Dean of Westminster then asked him in what faith or religion he meant to die, to which he answered,—“In the faith professed by the Church of England ;” adding that he “hoped to be saved and to have his sins washed away by the precious blood and merits of our Saviour Christ.” The morning being sharp, the sheriff offered to bring him down off the scaffold to warm himself by the fire before he should say his prayers ; “No, good Mr Sheriff,” said he, “let us despatch, for within this quarter of an hour my ague will come upon me, and if I be not dead before that, mine enemies will say I quake for fear.” He then, to

use the words of a contemporary and eyewitness, made a most divine and admirable prayer : after which, rising up and clasping his hands together, he exclaimed, "Now I am going to God!" The scaffold was soon cleared ; and having thrown off his gown and doublet, he bid the executioner show him the axe, which not being done immediately, he was urgent in his request. "I prithee," said he, "let me see it. Dost thou think I am afraid of it?" Taking it in his hand he kissed the blade, and passing his finger slightly along the edge, observed to the sheriff, "'Tis a sharp medicine, but a sound cure for all diseases." He then walked to the corner of the scaffold, and kneeling down, requested the people to pray for him, and for a considerable time remained on his knees engaged in silent devotion ; after which he rose and carefully examined the block, laying himself down to fit it to his neck, and to choose the easiest and most decent attitude. In all this he would receive no assistance ; and having satisfied himself, he rose and declared he was ready. The executioner now came forward, and kneeling, asked his forgiveness, upon which Raleigh laid his hand smilingly on his shoulder, and bade him be satisfied, for he most cheerfully forgave him, only entreating him not to strike till he himself gave the signal, and then to fear nothing and strike home. Saying this, he lay down on the block, and on being directed to place himself so that his face should look to the east, he answered "It mattered little how the head lay provided the heart was right." After a little while, during which it was observed, by the motion of his lips and hands, that he was occupied in prayer, he gave the signal ; but, whether from awkwardness or agitation, the executioner delayed ; upon which, after waiting for a short time, he partially raised his head and said aloud, "What dost thou fear ? strike, man !"* The axe then descended, and at two strokes the head was severed from the body, which

* MS. Letter in Harleian Collection, printed by Cayley, Appendix, No. xvii. Mr Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, vol. ii.

never shrunk or altered its position, whilst the extraordinary effusion of blood evinced an unusual strength and vigour of constitution, though when he suffered Sir Walter was in his sixty-sixth year. The head, after being as usual held up to the view of the people on either side of the scaffold, was put into a red bag, over which his velvet nightgown was thrown and the whole immediately carried to a mourning-coach which was in waiting, and conveyed to Lady Raleigh. This faithful and affectionate woman, who never married again, though she survived him twenty-nine years, had it embalmed and preserved in a case, which she kept with pious solicitude till her death.

The body was buried privately near the high altar of St Margaret's Church, in Westminster, close beside the spot where Harrington, the author of "*Oceana*," was afterwards interred.* No stone or memorial marks the place,—a circumstance to be ascribed to the destitution in which Lady Raleigh and her son were left, or to the fear they felt of drawing down the further indignation of the monarch. His head, after the death of his widow, was preserved by his son, with whom it was buried at his seat of West Horsley, in Surrey. Such at least was the tradition of the neighbourhood in the time of Oldys; and it is certain that more than eighty years after, when the grave of a Carew Raleigh was laid open, two skulls were found in it, one of which was supposed to be his father's.†

Sir Walter Raleigh belongs to that class of great men who may be said rather to fashion or create than to reflect the character of their age. His individual story is indissolubly linked with the annals of his country; and he who reads of the danger and the glory of England during the reign of Elizabeth; of the humiliation of Spain, the independence of Holland, the discovery and wonders of the New World, and the progress of our naval and commercial prosperity, must meet with his

* Raleigh's Works, vol. viii. p. 744. † Oldys, p. 565.

name in every part of the record. If required to describe in a few words the most prominent features in his mind, I would say they were his universality and originality. A warrior both by sea and land,—a statesman, a navigator, and discoverer of new countries, an accomplished courtier, a scholar, and eloquent writer; a sweet and true poet, and a munificent patron of letters,—there is scarcely one of the aspects in which we view him where he does not shine with a remarkable brightness. In some of the pursuits indeed in which he attained distinction, he has been excelled by other eminent men of his time; but where do we find such a combination as in Raleigh? They were satisfied with the glory of being great in one department; he aimed at an almost universal excellence. They wisely concentrated their efforts on the cultivation of a single insulated branch of human knowledge; his discursive and vigorous mind was not contented till it had made an inroad and achieved a triumph in them all; and it may be certainly affirmed, that upon every thing which he undertook he has left that stamp of power and originality which belongs to the man of genius.

As to his faults there was nothing little in the character of Raleigh—his errors and his weaknesses stand forward as prominently as the higher qualities of his mind. It will be found indeed that in most cases they grew out of them. His credulity was a weed thrown up by the strength and ardour of his imagination; his love of riches, which has been called his avarice, was not so much the sordid lust of gain, for he was no hoarder, as a shoot from that old buccaneering spirit which he had acquired in the school of Drake and Hawkins. His fancy had caught fire at first in the perusal of the histories of Cortes and Pizarro. His royal mistress delighted to see the pearl-laden and golden caracks of the Spaniard brought into her ports; and if Raleigh loved the Spanish plunder, he loved still more the danger and the enterprise with which it was connected. His ambition was restless in its ends, and sometimes ruinous in its

results,—but it was not a selfish ambition ; it arose out of his love for his country, his zeal for its pre-eminence and glory. He entertained the grand idea, and undoubtedly believed it practicable, that England might erect in America a greater or richer empire than that of Mexico or Peru ; and however absurd to our advanced knowledge this project may now appear, no one who has studied the earliest Spanish accounts of Guiana will deny that he had good grounds on which to found his opinion.

As to the charge of his being a deist, an atheist, or a freethinker, for it has been advanced under all these variations, it in all probability arose out of a youthful fault, exaggerated or misconceived. In his early days of vanity and ambition, Raleigh was a bold and reckless disputant on most subjects, not excluding religion, and he probably had the weakness to court discussion rather for the purposes of display than for the discovery of truth ; he laughed at the boasted infallibility of human reason, and in his ingenious little essay entitled the *Sceptic*, demonstrated the uncertainty of those deductions which are based on a limited experience and superficial observation ; he professed an early contempt for the dogmatism of the Aristotelian philosophy ; he regarded with little respect the system of scholastic theology ; and out of these materials the noted jesuit, Father Parsons, manufactured a charge of atheism, whilst Hume, Carte, and some more modern writers, have not scrupled to pronounce him a deist or a freethinker. How wide both aspersions are from the truth, has been already shown. The foibles of his youth passed away ; the pride of intellect—the vanity of display—was subdued by affliction ; and his profound and contemplative mind, instructed by the heavenly lesson, was brought to rest on that only stay for the broken and wounded spirit, the blessed hopes and promises of Revelation.

Such is Raleigh's general character ; but where shall we look for the minuter touches, which give freshness, prominence, and individuality to the picture ? Here,

alas! his biography, in common with that of other great men, is lamentably defective. How often have we to regret that of those whose genius stimulates our curiosity, and reflects an interest even on their daily dress and most ordinary habits of life, we know little or nothing. How fondly would we collect and prize the most common particulars which should introduce us into the familiar presence of Shakspeare, or Spenser, or Milton, or Bacon; and yet of the every-day life of these master-spirits of their time, so little is known, that the imagination, eager to lay hold on some visible personification of its favourite, is impelled to form a picture for itself. It is much the same with the illustrious man whose history we have been writing; yet one or two pleasing and characteristic touches have been preserved. Although his person was noble and manly, his voice was weak and somewhat shrill; his long residence at court could not conquer his strong Devonshire accent, which, with all the power of a youthful habit, clung to him to the last. His conversation and social qualities were eminently attractive; and whether he sat smoking his long silver pipe amongst his literary friends at the Mermaid, or talked with his royal mistress when she admitted him to the privy chamber, or assisted with his advice and experience at the council table, he swayed and delighted the intellects of all who came into contact with him. We know from one who was no partial judge,* that the queen loved his company, and esteemed his judgment as highly as his wit. In his youth he was violent and hasty, and did not scruple to beat at a tavern Charles Chester, a loquacious and insolent fellow, who had annoyed him by his remarks; after which he laid him on his back and sealed up his upper and nether beard with hard wax.† These were youthful follies. As he advanced in life he became an indefatigable student, and, in the judgment of Secretary Cecil, himself one of the most laborious men of his age, "could toil terribly when he was busy." Not content

* Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 109.

† Aubrey MS. *Raleigh's Works*, vol. viii. p. 740.

with his reading on shore, he carried with him a collection of books on his voyages, and strictly economized his time. His love of science and experiment was so ardent, that his chemical pursuits and his study of natural history were enthusiastically pursued at sea. Whatever corner of the world he sought, his curiosity was active, and his observation unremitting. In his last fatal voyage, when broken by disease and disappointment, his Manuscript Journal, which is preserved in the British Museum, shows the same unwearied love of science. He goes ashore with his Indian guide, "to discover the trees which yield balsamum, of which he had found a nut smelling like angelica, and exceeding pretious;" and on one of its blank leaves he has sketched a representation of some of the fruits of the country. Shortly before his death, in one of his conversations with Sir Thomas Wilson in the Tower, he alludes to a machine which he had invented for turning sea water into fresh; and even in those melancholy hours he took pleasure in explaining to him a theory he had formed to account for the saltness of the ocean. His knowledge of chemistry and medicine seems to have led him into that unhappy practice of almost daily drugging himself, which is so common a weakness amongst literary and sedentary men. In his letters to his wife from the Tower, he asks her in the same sentence, to send him his manuscripts, and "his powder of steel and dumex, with some more bitony." He was fond of music, and it seems to have been an hereditary taste in his family, for his brother, Sir Carew Raleigh, performed delicately on the olpharion, an instrument probably similar to the lute; and his grand-nephews, Walter and Tom, had delicate tunable voices, and played well on the violin.* In the productions of the sister art of painting he took much delight, carrying his favourite pictures with him even on his voyages, and extending his patronage to the best artists of his time, by sitting to them himself, and employing them to paint his

* Aubrey, Raleigh's Works, vol. viii. p. 737.

wife and children.* He was fond also of antiquarian studies,† a purchaser of ancient records and rare charts, and not only prided himself upon the rich inlaid coat of silver mail which he wore on gala days, but had collected a fine armoury.‡ In architecture his taste was sumptuous. Durham House, where he lived during his greatness, is described by Aubrey as a noble palace; yet he left the spacious apartments to his family, and for himself preferred a small library which enjoyed an extensive view over the river. “I well remember his study,” says this amusing and garrulous author; “which was on a little turret that looked into and over the Thames, and had the prospect, which is pleasant perhaps as any in the world, and which not only refreshes the eyesight, but cheers the spirits.” In his best time there was an air of dignity and command about him, “an awfulness and ascendancy,” as it is well expressed by Aubrey, “above other mortals,” which was displeasing to many, and particularly to the king; yet by his sailors and ships’ crews, as we learn from Cecil, he was wonderfully beloved. The interior of his palace was magnificent, his taste in furniture being marked by the same love of splendour which appeared in his dress. He delighted in richly-carved panels, in antique chimneypieces, in decorating the walls and ceilings of his apartments with his armorial bearings, in beds with green silk hangings, and legs like dolphins, overlaid with gold. His splendid dress, his shoes and doublet studded with precious stones, have been already described.§ Perhaps he indulged in it to a weakness; but it was an age of magnificence, and it is to be remembered that this wealth in jewels was in Raleigh the result, not of extravagance, but of the rich prizes which he had taken from the Spaniards. He glittered with the spoils of the New World; but his jewels were the insignia of his skill and bravery, the fruits not of purchase but of honourable conquest.

* See Note on the Portrait of Raleigh engraved for this Work. Appendix.

† Oldys, p. 317. ‡ Raleigh’s Ghost, p. 10. Oldys, p. 321.

§ Supra, p. 201.

It is the privilege of great men to reflect an importance and interest upon the history of their descendants, and the mind feels a pleasing curiosity in the inquiry how much or how little of the father's genius has been transmitted to his children. But in the present case we are staid on the very threshold of the question. The fiery and ambitious spirit of Raleigh's early years is discernible in his eldest son, Walter ; but it was suddenly extinguished in this brave youth, who fell at Santa Thome, in his twenty-third year. Of Carew Raleigh, his only surviving son, the character seems to have been moulded by the melancholy circumstances under which he grew up. Born in the Tower, he opened his eyes only to see his father a prisoner ; his boyhood was clouded by the melancholy circumstances under which that father's life was cruelly cut off. When introduced at court his likeness to Raleigh awoke a pang of remorse in the bosom of the monarch, and James, turning away from him, observed, that " he looked like his father's ghost." Warned by this, Carew took the advice of his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, and retired to the Continent till the beginning of a new reign. On his return, after this event, he petitioned parliament for his restoration in blood, upon which the king informed him that when Prince of Wales, he had pledged his word to secure Sherborne to the Earl of Bristol against the heirs of Sir Walter Raleigh, and that having received, in consequence of this stipulation, ten thousand pounds from that nobleman, he must adhere to his engagement. " The first step, therefore," said Charles, " to your restoration, must be your renouncing all title to your father's property." Against this cruel and unjust condition, Carew strongly remonstrated ; but the sovereign resolutely refused to pass the bill unless it was fulfilled ; and young Raleigh, who was promised promotion at court, purchased the reversal of his attainder at the price of the estate of Sherborne, which was settled on the earl just mentioned, and yet remains in the possession of his descendants.

APPENDIX.

A. Raleigh's Account of Guiana defended—B. Club at the Mermaid—C. Raleigh's alleged Attempt to stab himself—D. Hume's Errors in his Account of Raleigh—E. Cecil's Enmity to Raleigh—F. Raleigh's Plot—Its Origin and Secret History—G. Errors of Mr D'Israeli—H. Raleigh and the French Agent—Extracts from the Manuscripts in the State-paper Office—I. Raleigh in the Tower—His Unpublished Manuscripts—Hampden—K. Inventory of Raleigh's Jewels and Trinkets, from State-paper Office—L. Portrait of Raleigh.

A.—Page 134—145.

Raleigh's Account of Guiana defended.

HUME has attacked Raleigh's Account of Guiana in a manner which evinces clearly that, with his constitutional indolence, he had scarcely dipped into it. He accuses him of having published an account of the country, on his return from his expedition up the Orinoco, "full of the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind." For this sentence he quotes the respectable authority of Camden; but in turning to that writer (*Life and Reign of Elizabeth*, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 584), the reader will be surprised to find how completely the historian has mistaken, or, through carelessness, perverted his meaning. The passage in Camden, relative to Raleigh's account of Guiana, is this:—"He that would know more of this expedition may consult an ingenious book of his relating to it; wherein he gives a most accurate description of the countries, as if he had been born and bred there; and concludes that Guiana must needs be a wealthy country, *not only from the beautiful marcasites found there, but from the writings of the Spaniards, and upon the credit and report of the barbarians*; of whom yet he could but have little knowledge; but, indeed, chiefly from the sanguine complexion of his own hopes and desires. He likewise relates some things which appear fabulous enough, viz. of the Amazons, and a certain nation of people whose shoulders are so high that their face is placed in their breast; a secret which poets and travellers had never before discovered."

The reader will at once perceive the difference between the careful and candid observations of Camden,—in which he certainly reflects upon the two sanguine and credulous temperament of Raleigh,—and the sweeping and coarse accusation of Hume, who ascribes to him a premeditated plan of imposition and falsehood. Within the limits of a short note, it is impossible to analyze Raleigh's account of Guiana; but any one who will peruse it with common attention, will be satisfied of the extreme injustice and the unfounded aspersions now alluded to. Raleigh takes the utmost pains to state what he *saw* with his own eyes, what he was *told* by the Spaniards or by the natives of the country, and what he inferred of the great riches of Guiana from their accounts compared with his own observations. The truth seems to have been, that Hume, glancing over this "Account of the Discovery of Guiana" with the same indolent rapidity which has elsewhere led him into material errors, found stories of the Amazons, of a nation called Ewai-pona, whose heads appear not above their shoulders, and who *are reported* to have their eyes placed there; of a cacique, who he was informed had had buried with him a chair of gold most curiously wrought, and of the wonderful city of Manoa, and its astonishing riches and extent; and finding all this, which is related by Raleigh from the Spanish historians and the narratives of the natives, he was little careful to examine farther, and at once threw aside the book as a tissue of lies and imposture. It is extraordinary that this historian, who is often so acute, and so fair in weighing the conduct and appreciating the motives of other men, should appear to see every thing regarding Raleigh through a false and distorting medium,—that he should not have asked himself the question, What possible object could this able man have gained by losing his fortune, his health, and latterly his life, in attempting the discovery and conquest of Guiana, had he not believed in the picture which he has drawn of it, and the riches which it would bring to himself and to his country? But upon this subject the reader is referred to the observations already made in the text, pp. 132, 134, and to another article of this Appendix, D.

B.—Page 173.

Club at the Mermaid.

IN Gifford's *Life of Jonson*, pp. 65, 66, is this passage,—“Sir Walter Raleigh, previously to his unfortunate engagement with the wretched Cobham and others, had instituted a meeting of

beaux esprits at the Mermaid, a celebrated tavern in Friday Street. Of this club, which combined more talent and genius perhaps than ever met together, before or since, our author [Jonson] was a member; and here for many years he regularly repaired with Shakspeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Cotton, Carew, Martin, Donne, and many others, whose names, even at this distant period, call up a mingled feeling of reverence and respect. Here, in the full flow and confidence of friendship, the lively and interesting 'wit-combats' took place between Shakspeare and our author; and hither, in probable allusion to them, Beaumont fondly lets his thoughts wander, in his letter to Jonson from the country,—

———"What things have we seen
Done at the MERMAID! heard words that have been
So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,
As if that every one from whom they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest."

In a tract, by Thomas Middleton, quoted by Mr Collier in his History of English Dramatic Poetry, and entitled the Ant and the Nightingale, we have this description of a court-gallant of those days (1604), in which we find that the Horn, the Mitre, and the Mermaid, were the principal taverns in vogue:—"His eating must be in some famous tavern, the Horn, the Mitre, or the Mermaid; and then, after dinner, he must venture beyond sea, that is, in a choice pair of noblemen's oars to the Bank-side, where he must sit out the breaking up of a comedy, or the first act of a tragedy."

Mr Collier, in a note on this passage, informs us, that Mr Thorpe, the enterprising bookseller of Bedford Street, is in possession of a manuscript full of songs and poems, in the handwriting of a person of the name of Richard Jackson, all copied prior to the year 1631, and including many unpublished pieces, by a variety of celebrated poets. One of the most curious is a song in five seven-line stanzas, which is thus headed, "Shakspeare's Rime, which he made at the Mytre in Fleete Streete." It begins,

"From the rich Lavinian shore;"

and a few of the lines were published by Playford, and set as a catch. Another shorter piece is called, in the margin,

"*Shakspeare's Rime.*

"Give me a cup of rich Canary wine,
Which was the Mitre's (*drinks*), and now is mine,
Of which had Horace and Anacreon tasted,
Their lives, as well as lines, 'till now had lasted."

“ I have little doubt,” adds Mr Collier, “ that the lines are genuine, as well as many other songs and poems attributed to Ben Jonson, Sir W. Raleigh, H. Constable, Dr Donne, J. Sylvester, and others.” If, however, the rest of the poems are not more genuine than these lines attributed to Shakspeare, it says little for them,—for the lines are Jonson’s, which Mr Collier will discover, if he turns to his Works, vol. viii. p. 213, with this difference, that Ben writes “ Mermaid,” for which Mr Thorpe’s MS. substitutes “ Mitre.”

“ But that which most doth take my Muse and me,
Is a pure cup of rich Canary wine,
Which is the Mermaid’s now—but shall be mine :
Of which had Horace or Anacreon tasted,
Their lives, as do their lines, till now had lasted.”

C.—Page 229.

Raleigh’s alleged Attempt to stab Himself.

HAD Raleigh really attempted to kill himself in the Tower, it seems to me impossible that Coke, who, at the trial, travelled out of his way to load him with every species of vituperation, and even exaggerated and invented subjects of attack, should have passed over altogether a topic which might have afforded him, not only a point of censure, but a presumption of guilt. A strong corroboration of this view is to be found in Wilson’s Notes in the State-paper Office, where this person repeatedly relates the conversations and arguments which he had with Raleigh upon the subject of Roman deaths, and yet makes not the slightest allusion to his attempt to stab himself in the Tower. But whilst, from such omissions by Coke and Wilson, there is a presumption against the truth of the story, in the strong sense in which it has been represented by Cecil, and taken up by Cayley and Mrs Thomson,—the direct evidence in Cecil’s letter to Sir Thomas Parry (Cayley, vol. ii. p. 9), in his Diary, preserved in the Hatfield Collection, and in the letter of the lieutenant of the Tower, given in Mrs Thomson’s Appendix (p. 488), is too decided to allow us to doubt that Raleigh in a moment of passionate irritation had inflicted on himself a slight wound. The whole matter is obscure, and it is unfortunate that we have no account of it, except from the secretary, who, to use the words of an impartial and honest judge, Sir John Harrington,* “ bore no love to Raleigh.”†—This note was

* Mrs Thomson’s Life, p. 234.

† In a letter from Sir Toby Matthews’ Collection, published

written previous to the publication of a late interesting book, Bishop Goodman's *Memoirs of his own Time*. Its learned editor, Mr Brewer, has enriched the Appendix with many original letters, amongst which we find an affecting letter addressed by Raleigh to his wife, immediately after he had given himself the wound in the Tower.

D.—Page 250—294.

Hume's Errors in his Account of Raleigh.

THERE are few men whose character has been more misrepresented than Sir Walter Raleigh; and this too both in his own time and by some modern writers. That he should have been exposed to calumny during his life is by no means surprising. A man who like him mingled in the politics of the long and eventful reign of Elizabeth; who held high offices and was opposed by powerful rivals for the favour of his sovereign, must have been fortunate indeed had he escaped misconstruction. The attacks upon his memory by more modern writers are as easily accounted for. They have arisen out of the haste and superficiality with which a great portion of the modern history of England has been written. Had those writers who have spoken with such decision against him first investigated his life with due care and impartiality; had they studied his actions or consulted his works, they would have been convinced of their misapprehension; but it is rare to meet with any one who will take the trouble to arrive at the truth upon points which require research; and yet without this, what is all history and biography but a mass of elegant error?

Hume, as his authority is the highest, is entitled to the first place amongst the modern detractors of Raleigh. The besetting sin of this delightful historian was indolence, and in the instance before us it has conducted him into an extraordinary tissue of blunders. He has unhesitatingly pronounced Raleigh guilty of the treason laid to his charge in 1603; and yet it will scarcely be believed, that so slightly has he examined the subject, that he confounds two things which were perfectly distinct, namely, the plot of Brooke, Markham, Grey, and the priests, called the "Bye" or Surprising Treason, with the alleged conspiracy of Cobham and Raleigh, called the "Main." For the first, the "Bye," Raleigh was not tried. Had Hume read Coke's speeches, or Cecil's letters, or Markham's confes-

by Mr Jardine (*Crim. Trials*, p. 464), the writer refers to "the guilty blow he gave himself in the Tower."

sion, and those of the other conspirators in the "Bye," he must have found that Raleigh was not accused of being participant, or even in the knowledge of it; and yet in the confused account given by this historian (who proposes, as he expresses it, to clear up the story of Sir Walter Raleigh, hitherto much misunderstood) the two plots are amalgamated into one, which is denominated Raleigh's Conspiracy. I need hardly say that this error vitiates the whole narrative. Speaking of Watson, Clarke, Brooke, Markham, Lord Grey, and Raleigh, as *fellow-conspirators*, this author exclaims,—“What cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination; what end they proposed, or what means proportioned to an undertaking of this nature, has never yet been explained.” So far as regarded Raleigh it need not be explained; for between him and them there was no combination.

Hume commits another error in stating that the object of the conspiracy was the placing of Arabella Stewart on the throne,—yet any one who will study in authentic documents the history of the "Bye," will find that Watson, Clarke, and their associates, were not accused of an intention to set up Arabella, but simply of a design to surprise the king. The contemporary letters of Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Dudley Carleton, prove this beyond all doubt. Again, it is stated by the historian, that "it appears from Sully's Memoirs that Raleigh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador; and we may thence presume, that, meeting with a repulse from that quarter, he had recourse for the same *unwarrantable* purposes to the Flemish minister." Here again is a series of very palpable misstatements. On consulting Sully it will be found that Raleigh made no proposals, warrantable or unwarrantable, to the French minister. Of course he could not meet with a repulse; and had he afterwards submitted any proposals to the Flemish minister (he means Aremberg, the envoy of the archduke), they could not possibly have been for the "same" purposes as those submitted to France; for the interests of the two courts were opposed to each other,—Aremberg being interested to further a peace with Spain, and the French minister to procure an offensive league between his own court and England against that power. The passage in Sully, which Hume had probably only cursorily glanced at, occurs in his Memoirs (vol. ii. p. 200, 4to edition), where he merely states, that the information which he had received from Cobham and Raleigh confirmed him in the idea that Spain at this time meditated

some great design against France, for the furtherance of which Aremberg, the Austrian ambassador, was charged to excite, in the mind of the King of England, a suspicion of the sincerity of Henry IV. and his ambassador Sully. At the moment when this able minister of Henry visited England, it was his object to collect from every quarter information relative to the mutual political interests of England, Spain, and the Netherlands. Cecil, Northumberland, Cobham, Raleigh, and many others, in the course of the conversations which they held with him, contributed their share ; but in the Memoirs there is not an atom of evidence to show that Raleigh made any treasonable or unwarrantable proposals to Sully.

Having connected Raleigh with a conspiracy of which he was not accused, and declared that the confession of the prisoners left no doubt of their guilt, Hume proceeds, with some inconsistency, to observe, that at his trial no circumstance was proved sufficient to justify his condemnation, and that he was found guilty contrary to all law and equity. Again, Raleigh is represented by Hume as at the time of his trial, 1603, "extremely odious in England" (p. 551); and afterwards (p. 571), as of so "violent and haughty a temper," when he was first confined in the Tower, as rendered him the "most unpopular man in England," his condemnation being "chiefly owing to that public odium under which he laboured." Nothing can be more loose or inaccurate than this last statement. Instead of being the most unpopular man in England at the time of his confinement in the Tower, the conduct of Raleigh on his trial had worked an immediate and remarkable change in his favour. "Never," says Sir Dudley Carleton, who was present at the trial, "was man so hated and so popular in so short a time."* Another of the spectators declared, as we know from this same person, "that whereas when he saw him [Raleigh] first he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life."† That the share he had in accomplishing the downfall of Essex, the favourite of the people, procured him much odium at the time, cannot be doubted ; but the violent and haughty temper ascribed by Hume, in common with other writers, to Raleigh, seems to me to be much exaggerated. He did not perhaps court popularity, the great failing of Essex ; and it is quite possible

* Cayley, vol. ii. p. 66.

† Ibid.

that he rather despised it,—giving the people occasion to pronounce him proud; but as to violence or haughtiness it is certainly remarkable, that even the authors who ascribe to him this disposition, on those occasions where we might have expected that it would have made its appearance agree in painting him as remarkably patient and temperate. Thus Hume declares, that when Coke poured all sort of abuse upon him, calling him “traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell, he defended himself with *temper*, eloquence, and courage.”* On the Fayal Expedition, or Island Voyage, when the violence of Essex, in putting Raleigh’s officers under arrest, and accusing him of a breach of orders, might have betrayed a proud or violent man into some heat, we find Raleigh overcoming the earl by the *temperate and judicious nature of his defence*. After his last fatal expedition, when brought before the Commissioners in the Tower, and overwhelmed with accusations of the most injurious description, the eloquence with which he defended himself was not more worthy of praise than his moderation and temper.† Lastly, in that last melancholy interval between his examination and execution, when he was separated from his wife and family, shut up in the Tower, bowed to the earth by sickness and hope deferred, and strictly watched by eyes sharpened by malignity and eager to seize on every fault or weakness, it is certainly remarkable (and seems to me decisive upon the point) that we find no one instance of pride or passion recorded. On the contrary, the perusal of the Notes and Minutes of Sir Thomas Wilson justifies completely the assertion, that coolness, temper, and a self-possession, which this person denominates wariness and cunning, were, at this period at least, very striking features in the disposition of his prisoner.

I had intended to proceed from this to point out the errors committed by the same historian in his account of Raleigh’s last expedition, where hastily adopting data, the fallacy of which a little care would have detected, and neglecting other sources which, before he formed his judgment, ought to have been consulted, he has pronounced upon Raleigh’s conduct and character an opinion widely at variance with the facts. The limits, however, to which I must confine this Appendix, render this impossible at present; and I will only remark, that an anxiety to tell the story favourably for James and to communicate an exaggerated picture of the faults and failures of

* Hume, History of England, p. 551.

† Jardine’s Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 488.

Raleigh, seems to run through the whole narrative. The motives by which he was actuated, the manner in which he proceeded, the facts as to the existence of the mine, the conduct of his fellow-adventurers, the policy of Gondomar, and the behaviour of Raleigh on the scaffold, are all so garbled, suppressed, or distorted, that were the reader to form his opinion from the pages of this historian, he would not make even an approximation to the truth. I may observe, that Rapin and Carte have both committed the same mistake as Hume, in mixing up together the conspiracy of the Priests, and the alleged plot of Cobham and Raleigh.

E.—Page 253.

Cecil's Enmity to Raleigh.

THE curious and interesting little volume, published by Lord Hailes, entitled the Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI. of Scotland, establishes the point of Cecil's enmity to Raleigh on satisfactory evidence. Referring generally to the correspondence, we may quote a few passages in support of this. In the third letter from Lord Henry Howard to Mr Edward Bruce, King James's confidential agent in the management of the correspondence with Cecil, there is this sentence,—“ You must persuade the king, in his next despatch, to direct you to thank Cecil, in the letter which you write to me, for the light he receives of Cobham and Raleigh by this advertisement; and if it please his Majesty to speak of them suitably to the concert which Cecil holds, it will be better; for Cecil sware to me this day, that Duo Erinacii, *that is, he and they, would never live under one apple-tree.*”* Again, in the same letter, Howard, Cecil's agent, thus speaks of Raleigh,—“ You must remember also that I gave you notice of the diabolical triplicity, that is, Cobham, Raleigh, and Northumberland, that met every day at Durham House, where Raleigh lies in consultation, which awaked all the best wits of the town, out of suspicions of sundry kinds, to watch what chickens they could hatch out of these cockatrice-eggs, that were daily and nightly sitten on.”† Again, in p. 88, Howard describes Cobham and Raleigh as those “ who hover in the air for an advantage, as kites do for carrion;” and in p. 126, there is a sentence, in which, by the direction of Cecil (for Howard represents himself as nothing more than his agent in managing this correspondence,

* Hailes's Secret Correspondence, p. 52. † Ibid. p. 29.

see p. 19), the king is instructed to look upon Raleigh as the person who would willingly give the stab to James's hope of succession. Of this procedure it is probable that Raleigh was not then aware, and it affords a mortifying picture of the duplicity and hollowness of Cecil's character. Thus, as late as September 6, 1600, we have, in the Sidney Letters (ii. 210, 212, 214), this curious passage, proving that Cecil's son was brought up at Sherborne under the care of Raleigh, and that the secretary, when he could steal a moment from his public duties, made a party with Lord Cobham to take a journey there and enjoy himself at Raleigh's country-seat. "Mr Secretary hath picked out this time to be away, and to take some pleasure abroad, from the infinite pains and care he takes in the despatch of her Majesty's service when he is at court. It is said he is gone with my Lord Cobham to see Sir Walter Raleigh at Sherborne, where young Mr Cecil, his son, is brought up." Nay, it can be proved from a minute circumstance, of no value otherwise than as affording a link in the evidence which settles this question, that, at the very time the secretary was secretly representing Raleigh in the worst light to James, he was living with Sir Walter on terms of the kindest intimacy. Early in the year 1602, Mr Boyle, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Cork, came over to England with the intention of purchasing Sir Walter Raleigh's large Irish estate. He brought with him letters of introduction from Sir George Carew to the chief men about court; and one of these was a letter to Secretary Cecil, requesting this minister to introduce Boyle to Raleigh, and to recommend him to Sir Walter as a proper purchaser of his lands. Cecil did so accordingly, and managed the sale for Raleigh.* This was early in the year 1602, probably in May or June, and let the reader remark in what terms at this same time Lord Henry Howard, Cecil's agent, writing under the instructions of his master, speaks of Raleigh and Cobham, the latter being the secretary's brother-in-law, and Raleigh the friend to whom he had intrusted the charge of his son: "Your lordship may believe, that hell did never spew up such a couple [Raleigh and Cobham] when it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon. They are now set on the pin of making tragedies, by meddling in your affairs. * * For my lord-admiral, the other day, wished from his soul, that he had but the same commission to carry the cannon to Durham House [Raleigh's residence] that he had

* Oldys's Life, p. 358. Cayley, vol. i. p. 320.

this time twelvemonth to carry it to Essex House, to prove what sport he could make in that fellowship.”*

F.—Page 257—266.

Raleigh's Plot—Its Origin and Secret History.

IN addition to the observations made in the text (p. 249-253), I am now able, in consequence of some further researches, to throw a clearer light upon this alleged conspiracy, which has, by all former historians and biographers, been pronounced so obscure as to be perfectly inexplicable.† This is chiefly derived from a remarkable letter published, I believe for the first time, in the Oxford edition of the Works of Raleigh, to which no attention has been paid, and upon which no observations have been made by its anonymous editor. The circumstance is by no means extraordinary, as the letter is without date, without signature, and without address; written in a dark enigmatical style, with initials sometimes used instead of names, and altogether so obscure, that unless studied with reference to a particular line of research, and with a minute attention to the state of the parties and intrigues of the court of Elizabeth immediately previous to the death of the queen and the accession of James, it is quite impossible to make any thing out of it. The editor states that it is taken from the Burleigh Papers, and was *probably* written by Lord Henry Howard to Secretary Cecil. The conjecture was superfluous, for the letter itself contains distinct internal evidence that this was the case,—the writer styling the Duke of Norfolk, who was executed by Elizabeth for his intrigues with Queen Mary, “*his brother*,” a designation which could come from no one but Lord Henry Howard.‡ That it was addressed to Secretary Cecil is not absolutely certain, but nearly so, if we consider

* Cecil's Secret Correspondence, pp. 132, 133.

† “The conspiracy,” says Cayley (vol. ii. p. 5), “to which I allude, is a riddle of state, which has never been solved, and the speculations that have been formed on it would fill a moderate volume. Our own writers afford us little satisfaction on the subject; while the account of it given by Thuanus is founded on the gross misrepresentations of his countryman, Victor Cayet, and is truly unworthy of a place in his history.” “Every thing,” says Hume, “remains still mysterious in this conspiracy, and history can give us no clue to unravel it.”

‡ The Earl of Surrey left only two sons, the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Henry Howard.

the deep confidential intimacy which subsisted between Howard and that statesman,—the circumstance that the letter was found amongst the Burleigh Papers,—and the fact, completely established by other evidence, that Howard and Cecil were the chief instruments in the downfall of Raleigh and Cobham.* Keeping these circumstances in mind, let us come to the letter, which, as it is very long, I regret I cannot give entire. The reader will find it in the 8th vol. of the Oxford edition of Raleigh's Works, p. 756. As already observed it is without date; but it must have been written shortly before the death of Elizabeth. All these, however, are minor matters in comparison with the singular fact, that it contains an exact outline of the plan afterwards put in execution for the destruction of Cobham and Raleigh, by entrapping them in a charge of treason. We have in the first place this sentence:—"The way that Cobham hath elected to endear himself is by peace with Spain; which hath so many difficulties, as will rather

* The two great supporters of James's government at the period of his accession were Lord Henry Howard and Secretary Cecil. Of these statesmen Wilson (see Kennet, vol. ii. p. 680) thus speaks:—"This man (Secretary Cecil) the king found secretary and master of the wards, and to these he added the treasurer's staff, knowing him to be the staff of his treasury. * * The Earl of Northampton he made lord privy seal; and these were the two prime wheels of his triumphant chariot. The Earl of Suffolk was made lord chamberlain before; but he came far behind in the management of the king's affairs, being a spirit of a more grosser temper. * * Upon the shoulders of the two first the king laid the burthen of his business." Now we know from Raleigh himself that the three men who set themselves against him, and to whom he traced his ruin, were Northampton (Lord Henry Howard), Salisbury (Cecil), and Suffolk. The letter could only, from its confidential nature, be written either to Cecil or Suffolk; but whether to the one or to the other is not very material,—inasmuch as a confidential communication, addressed to one member of a plot, may be looked on without injustice as addressed to all. In one part Howard advises the person to whom he addresses himself, to "*hold back correspondences with neighbour states.*" Could this have been done by any one but the secretary of state, who manages these correspondences? whereas Suffolk's office of chamberlain had nothing to do with them. With regard to the date of the letter I am inclined to believe, from a passage which occurs in it relative to the correspondence of Cobham and Raleigh with Scotland, that it was written in May 1602. It is indeed true that Howard, in the letter, speaks of "the Secretary" in the third person; but this was probably a blind.

confound his dizziness than reward his industry. But as my lord of Leicester dealt with my brother, finding his humour apt to deal with Scotland, when he thrust him into a treaty about those affairs, assuring himself, that either he should lose the Q. [queen] for the present, or the other Q. for the future; *so must you embark this gallant Cobham, by your wit or interest, in some course of the Spanish way, as either may reveal his weakness or snare his ambition.*" The practice of Leicester with the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Henry Howard's brother, and the subsequent ruin of that noble person, are matters of familiar history; and we see that Howard here recommends Cecil in like manner to inveigle Cobham into some intrigue with Spain, by which his ambition might be ensnared, and not only his ruin but that of his friend Raleigh effected; for it is to be observed, that throughout the letter, although Cobham is frequently spoken of in the singular number, as the person to be worked upon, yet it is always, that it may bring about *their* ruin; that is, as the letter most fully shows, the ruin of him and Raleigh. The reader need not be told how completely this sentence sketches out the very plan which was adopted. Cobham was induced to engage in an intrigue with Spain; in that intrigue his enemies attempted to involve Raleigh, and they thus accomplished the ruin of both. But this is only the plot in its infancy or most general form. The particular mode in which such a project may be executed is next pointed out by Lord Henry. "Be not unwilling," says he, "to engage him [Cobham] in the trafficke *with suspected ministérs*, and upon the first occasion of false treaty to make him the minister."* How completely this was followed may be seen in the trial. Cobham did engage in a traffic, or secret correspondence with Aremberg, the minister of the archduke, who was in the interest of Spain, and so much suspected, that Coke at the trial did not scruple to affirm he had evidence enough to convict this foreign ambassador of treason;† and it was out of this secret correspondence that his enemies spun the net which ultimately caught both Cobham and Raleigh. After this, Howard proceeds, in his lengthy and obscure style, to give many advices, and recommends *extreme measures* to be pursued against Cobham and Raleigh. "Follow them not. * * The best course were, in all respects, *to be rid of them.* * * * It is better to *crush their edges* than to neglect jeopardy. * * * The

* Raleigh's Works, vol. viii. p. 759. † Jardine's Trials, p. 397.

means to *cut them off* must be either occasional or violent. * * In all occasions, both public and private, it were good to gain the start; and *cut down the thorn* before the time come wherein it can make account to take hold of you.”* That this advice was also scrupulously pursued, the reader need not be told. There follows a very singular passage, too long to be extracted, in which Howard draws a parallel between Cobham and Raleigh. It is clever and amusing;† but the important fact to be derived from it is, that Raleigh, in his political opinions, with regard to peace with Spain, and other public measures, was directly opposed to Cobham; a circumstance resting on most unsuspected evidence, since it comes from his bitter enemy,—and wholly subversive of the theory attempted to be made out in his trial, that he and this nobleman were embarked in the same treasonable intercourse with Spain.

So far all is clear and certain; and no one who reads these passages, and compares them with the course afterwards pursued by Howard and Cecil, will hesitate to confess, that the plan here recommended was that afterwards followed. Some of our historians have expressed their astonishment that the conspiracy, which they have hastily and ignorantly denominated Raleigh’s Plot, should have broken out so suddenly after the king’s accession. They wondered that it should have been so rapidly concocted, and so speedily brought to light, almost before the monarch was seated on his English throne. The letter which we have just quoted explains the mystery. The conspiracy was an invention of Howard’s, sketched out during the lifetime of Elizabeth, and for which the materials were prepared before the accession of James. The train was laid; it needed only the match to inflame it.

But a little research will enable us to proceed from this general outline of their future operations, given by Lord Henry Howard, to the particular mode in which Cobham was first involved and Raleigh afterwards drawn in. Secretary Cecil had married Elizabeth Brooke, a sister of Lord Cobham’s; and there was in the family another brother, George Brooke, an ambitious, unprincipled man, but possessed of considerable talents, with a great passion for political intrigue. This George Brooke had become engaged in the conspiracy of the Catholic priests, Watson and Clarke, for the seizure of the king’s person,

* Raleigh’s Works, vol. viii. pp. 764, 765, 768.

† *Ibid.* pp. 766, 767.

which was denominated the "Bye." "Brooke's motive for joining the conspiracy," says Mr Jardine (Criminal Trials, p. 390), "it is difficult to ascertain, though it would appear from the statements of some of his confederates, as well as his own, that he was actuated neither by religious nor political considerations, but merely by a sordid view to his own aggrandizement." It appears to me extremely probable that Cecil, aware of the intrigues of the Catholic priests, and the conspiracy which they were hatching, engaged Brooke, his brother-in-law, to become a party to their discontents, that he might discover and betray their secrets. I state this only as a conjecture; but there are two circumstances upon which a presumption of its truth may be founded. The first of these is Brooke's declaration on the scaffold as given by an eyewitness, Sir Dudley Carleton:—"He did somewhat extenuate his offences, both in the treasons and in the course of his life,—naming these [the treasons] *rather errors* than capital crimes, and his former faults sins, but not so heinous as they were traduced, *which he referred to the God of truth and time to discover, and so left it, as if somewhat lay yet hid, which would one day appear for his justification.*" I would ask, is this not very like the language of one who felt he had been unfairly dealt with; who wished to avoid the disgraceful acknowledgment that he had submitted to be employed as a spy and a base informer, yet repelled the idea that he was a traitor, and left his justification to the God of truth and to time? But this is not all. We have the following remarkable letter, or rather fragment of a letter, from Brooke to Cecil, which proves a very intimate interchange of services on the part of his brother-in-law, and promises of rewards from the Secretary. The allusion in the first sentence is to Cecil's deceased wife, Brooke's sister:—

"* * * She that loved me, and whose memory you yet love, beholding from heaven the extreme calamity of her father's house. Shall I need say any more after this? 'Tis all but weak if I pray you to cancel injuries past, you have promised to do so; and I believe if I promise you any thing of myself, you may truly say you need it not nor care for it: therefore I must stand only upon your free disposition, and shall be so much the more assured, because nothing binds you. Leave now, I beseech your lordship, to be nice,—and sticke not to dissever yourself in my relief. But above all give me leave to conjure you to deal directly with me, *what I am to expect,*

after so many promises received, and so much conformity and accepted service performed on my part to you. Your lordship's brother-in-law to command,—G. BROOKE."

This letter is dated November 18, 1603, the day after Raleigh's trial, and four days before that of Brooke's brother, Lord Cobham.* It proves that Brooke had received many promises of reward from Cecil, many directions with regard to what the secretary wished him to do,—that he had conformed his proceeding to these injunctions,—that his services had been accepted and acknowledged by Cecil,—and that, after all, the promises made to him had not been kept; so that he found himself indirectly dealt with, and knew not what he was to expect. Does not this letter raise a strong presumption that Brooke, whose motives for entering into the conspiracy are proved to have been neither of a religious nor political nature, was employed by Cecil as a spy upon his brother-conspirators? At all events, one fact is certain from the letter,—that, after the conspiracy was discovered, Cecil had employed Brooke in matters of a very secret and confidential nature, and that, having performed the services required of him, Brooke expected from Cecil the fulfilment of his promises.

The question next occurs, What were these services? and this will lead us on to the development of the plot against Cobham and Raleigh. Having discovered the Treason of the Priests, and found, either that Brooke was really an accomplice in it, or that he had involved himself so far that he might be treated as an accomplice, the next object of Howard and Cecil seems to have been to prevail upon him to implicate his brother and Raleigh by declaring that he was privy to the said treason. How completely this was accomplished appears by an extract from Brooke's examination:—"Being asked what was meant by this jargon, the Bye and the Main? he said, that the Lord Cobham told him that Grey and others were but upon the Bye, but he and Raleigh were upon the Main. Being asked what exposition his brother made of these words? he saith, he is loath to repeat it; and after saith, by the Main was meant the taking away of the king and his issue; and thinks, on his conscience, it was infused into his brother's head by Raleigh."†

* The original is in the State-paper Office, from which it was published by Mrs Thomson in her Appendix to the Life of Raleigh.

† Jardine's Trials, p. 429.

There is a letter in the State-paper Office from Sir William Waad to Cecil, dated August 3, 1603, in which the secretary's anxiety to connect Brooke, Cobham, and Raleigh, in the same treason, is very apparent. Waad sends him information regarding the examination of the parties in the Priests' Treason, and says:—"My Lord Grey is now confest. Sir Walter Rawley was ordinarily thrice a-week with the Lord Cobham: what their conferences were none but themselves do know. *But Mr Brooke confidently thinketh what his brother knows was known to the other.*"*

So far, then, all had succeeded. Brooke had been induced to accuse his brother of being acquainted with the conspiracy for the surprise of the king; and Lord Cobham, who had been intriguing with Aremberg, and engaging "in the traffick with suspected ministers," found himself involved in a charge of treason which might bring his head into jeopardy. Howard and Cecil had thus a complete power over him; and their next step was to get Cobham to accuse and implicate Raleigh. Here, however, they experienced more difficulty, from the weak, false, and vacillating character of the one, and the talent and uprightness of the other. Mr Brooke, we see, had informed Cecil, through Waad, that he *confidently thought* Raleigh knew all that Cobham knew. But this was no evidence; it became necessary to extract proofs of Raleigh's guilt from Cobham's own lips; and well was he plied upon the point. Taking into account his various examinations, declarations, and letters addressed to the council, he appears, previous to his last declaration on the scaffold, to have disburdened his breast of its secret knowledge no less than nine times. On all occasions Cecil and Lord Henry Howard, with the assistance of Sir Edward Coke, were the principal persons before whom the examinations were conducted; and it appears of the greatest consequence in the development of this plot to attend to the various and contradictory accounts of Cobham. In doing this I entreat the reader to keep in mind the fact, that the hopes of Cecil and Lord Henry Howard, in their plan for fixing treason upon Raleigh, rested principally if not solely on the evidence to be extracted from Cobham.

This nobleman was examined first on the 16th July, again on the 19th, and once more on the 20th of the same month.

* That is, Brooke is pretty certain that his brother had imparted the Priests' Treason to Raleigh.

The examinations of the 16th and the 19th are preserved in the State-paper Office, and in both of them (I use the words of Mr Jardine, for I have not myself seen them) “Cobham denies all knowledge of plots or treasonable designs of any kind.”* Of course he then entirely exculpated Raleigh. “On the 20th of July he appears to have been again examined; and being then shown the letter from Raleigh to Lord Cecil, informing him of the suspicions he [Raleigh] entertained of Cobham’s intrigues with Count Aremberg, he bursts out into vehement exclamations against Raleigh, and then makes a statement, the substance of which is very imperfectly given in the reports of the trial.”† This examination or declaration of the 20th of July, although it is stated to have been read at the trial, is not to be found in the State-paper Office; but there is no doubt that it completely implicated Raleigh, accusing him of treasonable “plots and invasions.” From a letter of Secretary Cecil’s, dated 4th August, addressed to Sir Thomas Parry, and first printed by Cayley (vol. ii. p. 6), we are enabled to add the material fact, that although Cobham had thus, on the 20th of July, accused Raleigh “before eleven councillors, to be privy to his Spanish course, * * * yet being newly examined [this is his fourth examination‡], he seemeth now to clear Sir Walter in most things, and to take all the burthen to himself.” Cecil goes on to observe in the same letter, that “no severity shall be used toward him [Raleigh], for which there shall not be sufficient proof: which is very like there will be, notwithstanding this retractation; because it is confessed, that since their being in the Tower, intelligence hath passed from one to another, wherein Raleigh expostulated his unkind using of him.”§

* Criminal Trials, pp. 410, 411.

† Ibid. p. 411.

‡ This fourth examination seems to have taken place on the 29th July (Jardine’s Trials, p. 422), and it was followed by Cobham’s writing a letter to the Lords, which was quoted at the trial. Its contents exculpate both himself and Raleigh from all treasonable intentions, and prove, what seems to have been the whole truth, that Cobham had engaged in a correspondence with Aremberg, the minister of the archduke, to further the peace with Spain. The reader will remember Lord Henry Howard’s directions, that Cobham (in order to accomplish his and Raleigh’s ruin) must be first drawn into a traffic with suspected ministers regarding peace with Spain. In the letter we had the plot laid down—here we see how completely it had been carried into effect.

§ Cayley, vol. ii. p. 10.

were not to be so easily defeated. They procured Cobham's wife, the Lady Kildare, a Howard, and daughter of Nottingham, the high-admiral, to write to her husband that there was no way to save his life but to accuse Raleigh. And this mean and wavering person once more directed a letter to the lords of the council on the 16th of November,* a day before Raleigh's trial, in which he again departed from his former examinations, and criminated his friend.

Before proceeding farther, let us for a moment rapidly run over these various examinations and letters of Cobham, in order to ascertain how much weight is to be attached to the evidence of such a person. In his first examination he exculpates Raleigh; in his second he adheres to his first; in his third he is inveigled by a device (explained above, p. 390) into an accusation of him; in his fourth he again exculpates him of any treasonable designs; in his fifth he adheres to this; in his sixth he follows the same course; in his letter to Raleigh, on the 1st of November, he again, in the most solemn manner, exculpates him of all guilt; and once more, on the 16th of November, he is prevailed on to alter his story, and to accuse him. We have thus eight examinations or declarations of Lord Cobham, and out of these, six are in favour of Raleigh, whilst two, including the last on the 16th of November, were against him.

But we have not yet done with the extraordinary vacillations of this lord, and the base dexterity by which he was worked upon by the enemies of Raleigh. His last letter, accusing this unfortunate man, being *procured on the 16th November*, not a moment was lost, Raleigh was tried, and, *on the evidence of this letter, found guilty on the 17th of the same month*: This evidence, however, was of such a kind as could not possibly be satisfactory,† and indeed, setting aside the fact that the witness had six successive times contradicted it, the accusation in the letter itself did not amount to treason: Accordingly, the object of Raleigh's enemies was to procure a still stronger declaration from Cobham, and this they extracted from him on the 22d

* Jardine's Trials, p. 444.

† A contemporary and eyewitness of the trial thus characterizes it—"The main evidence was Cobham's accusation, which, all things considered, *was no more to be weighed than the barking of a dog*. I would not for much have been of the jury to have found him guilty."—Letter in Sir Toby Matthews' Collection, Jardine, p. 463.

November, the very day of his own trial. "There is," says Mr Jardine, "an examination of Lord Cobham, taken before several Lords of the Council on the 22d November 1603, in which he fully and circumstantially repeats his former accusation of Raleigh, adding several circumstances which he had not mentioned before. This examination is signed by Cobham."* The same day, however, came on his own trial, and he again varied in his story; for although he criminated Raleigh in one part of his defence, he appears to have completely contradicted his former letter of accusation. Of this we have the best possible evidence in Cecil's letter to Sir Thomas Parry, dated 1st December, where there is this passage:—"The Friday after, the Lord Cobham was arraigned before thirty-one of the peers, the Lord Chancellor sitting as High Steward. *He denied then that Raleigh was privy to his purpose to go into Spain.* And for the matter of money to be gotten for discontented persons, he confessed that it was a conceit of *his own thoughts*, never communicated to any, but died in him almost as soon as it was harboured in his mind; though he did reveal it to the Lords of the Council when they examined him about other matters. Concerning the setting up of the Lady Arabella, he fastened it upon his brother, George Brooke. And for Sir Walter Raleigh, though he confessed that in many things he had *done him wrong*, yet he maintained still the pension sought for by him; and withal that Sir Walter moved to solicit Aremberg to persuade the King of Spain to send an army into Milford Haven."†

Thus, for the tenth time, Cobham at his trial appears to have varied in his story generally; to have rather exculpated Raleigh than corroborated his former accusations; and to have added a new circumstance against him to which no one was likely to affix any credit. Such being the state of things, he was found *guilty*, his brother, George Brooke's confession being the chief evidence against him. His conduct and behaviour on the trial are minutely described by Sir Dudley Carleton, and the reader's attention is particularly requested to the passage, as it will be afterwards shown to be of importance. "Cobham led the way on Friday, and made such a fasting-day's piece of work of it, that he discredited the place to which he was called; never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling. * * * After sentence of

* Jardine's Trials, p. 445.

† Cayley, vol. ii. p. 63.

condemnation given, *he begged a great while for life and favour*, alleging his confession as a meritorious act.”* Another observation of Carleton in the same letter is material to be noticed. “We cannot,” says he, “yet judge what will become of him [Cobham] or the rest; for all are not like to go one way. Cobham is of the surest side; for he is thought least dangerous, *and the Lord Cecil undertakes to be his friend.*”

We have now analyzed the confessions and character of Lord Cobham with perhaps a tedious minuteness. It is to be recollected, however, that he constitutes the single witness against Sir Walter Raleigh, and that our object is completely to develop the plot to which this illustrious man was made a sacrifice, and which has hitherto been considered, from its obscurity, so inexplicable. The reader will now be able to appreciate the mixture of fear, weakness, and falsehood, which composed the character of Cobham. Keeping all this in view, we shall next follow him to the scaffold. He had been condemned on the 22d November; he was brought out for execution on the 10th of December; and now let us hear the account of an eyewitness, Sir Dudley Carleton: “The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions promised nothing but *matière pour rire*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his minister, and so out-prayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a stander by said ‘He had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single.’ Some few words he used, to express his sorrow for his offence to the king, and craved pardon of him and the world; for Sir Walter Raleigh, *he took it, upon the hope of his soul’s resurrection, that what he had said of him was true*; and with those words would have taken a short farewell of the world, with that *constancy* and *boldness* that we might see by him it is an easier matter to die well than live well.—He was stayed by the sheriff.” So far Sir Dudley. The reader is already acquainted (*supra*, p. 266) with the termination of this extraordinary farce, by his lordship receiving a reprieve, when, as all the bystanders expected, he was to be instantly beheaded. But what I would here remark, is the strong presumption (amounting, I think, when all the circumstances are taken together, almost to proof) that Cobham was perfectly aware before he came to the scaffold that he was not

* Jardine’s Trials, pp. 466, 468.

to die, and that the price of this pardon was to be his solemn, and as it would then appear to the world, his dying accusation of Raleigh. When we compare the passage quoted above, describing his conduct on his trial (*supra*, p. 393), *his poor and abject spirit*, his *fear and trembling*, his long begging for *life and favour*, with this extraordinary metamorphosis into a *courageous contempt of death*, into a *boldness and constancy of demeanour* entirely foreign to his character,—and with his fervent asserting of Raleigh's guilt upon his soul's resurrection, the inference can scarcely be resisted—that this whole scene was got up—that it was a piece of acting, the object of which was to convince the world, by the declaration of a dying associate, that Raleigh was really guilty—and that Cobham's wonderful courage and contempt of death, which so perplexed and astonished the world, arose simply out of the circumstance that he knew beforehand he was not to die.

It is possible that, in the private correspondence of Secretary Cecil preserved at Hatfield, as well as in the examinations and declarations of the priests, of Brooke, Grey, Cobham, and Markham, many links in the history of this extraordinary plot for the ruin of Raleigh might be supplied, and the exact mode by which Brooke became associated with the priests, Cobham entangled by Brooke, and Raleigh implicated by Cobham, traced step by step. It is a tantalizing reflection that stores exist in this country, both in public and in private repositories, from which, if opened up, a flood of light might be poured on some of the obscurest periods of our history. But they are locked up and inaccessible—as useless as a lamp in a sepulchre. In the present investigation, I have been cramped by the paucity of original and authentic materials: garbled examinations—anonymous letters without date or address, and insulated fragments and extracts, have been my only guides—yet, followed with the patience and earnestness absolutely necessary for the elucidation of historical truth, they have led to two interesting results: First, A portion of English history, hitherto pronounced by every preceding writer inexplicably and hopelessly obscure, has been rendered comparatively clear, consistent, and intelligible. We have seen the plot in its infancy, in its progress, and in its termination—and no doubt, I apprehend, can remain, that its authors were Howard and Cecil. Secondly, The fact that Raleigh was the victim of a conspiracy or state plot, and guiltless of the treason for which he suffered, has, I trust, been satisfactorily established. His real crime was, that he

and Cobham were plotting, not against the king or the state, but against Cecil's power as a minister; and I may remark, that whilst he was guilty of only *entertaining* the proposal of a pension, or present of money from a foreign statesman, it can be proved that the ministers and courtiers of James had unblushingly received bribes from the French ambassador and also from the Spanish envoy.

G.—Page 290.

Errors of Mr D'Israeli.

IN Mr D'Israeli's Second Series of his *Curiosities of Literature* is an article entitled "Literary Unions," where we find this passage:—"There is a large work which is still celebrated, of which the composition has excited the astonishment even of the philosophic Hume, but whose secret history remains yet to be disclosed. This extraordinary volume is the *History of the World* by Rawleigh. * * Now," he adds, "*when the truth is known*, the wonderful in this literary mystery will disappear, *except in the eloquent, the grand, and the pathetic passages interspersed in that venerable volume.* We may indeed pardon the astonishment of our calm philosopher when we consider the recondite matter contained in this work, and recollect *the little time which this adventurous spirit, whose life was passed in fabricating his own fortune and in perpetual enterprise, could allow to such erudite pursuits.* Where could Rawleigh obtain that familiar acquaintance with the Rabbins, of whose language he was probably entirely ignorant? His numerous publications, the effusions of a most active mind, though excellent in their kind, were evidently composed by one who *was not abstracted in curious and remote inquiries*, but full of the daily business and the wisdom of human life. His confinement in the Tower, which *lasted several years*, was indeed sufficient to the composition of this folio volume, and of a second which appears to have occupied him. But in that imprisonment it singularly happened that he lived among literary characters with the most intimate friendship. There he joined the Earl of Northumberland, the patron of the philosophers of his age, and with whom Rawleigh pursued his chemical studies, and Sergeant Hoskins, a poet and a wit, and the poetical 'father' of Ben Jonson, who acknowledged that 'it was Hoskins who had polished him;' and that Rawleigh often consulted Hoskins in

his literary works, *I learn from a manuscript*. But however literary the atmosphere of the Tower proved to Rawleigh, no particle of Hebrew, and perhaps little of Grecian lore, floated from a chemist and a poet. The truth is, that the collection of the materials of this history was the labour of several persons, who have not all been discovered. It has been ascertained that Ben Jonson was a considerable contributor; and there was an English philosopher, from whom Descartes, it is said even by his own countrymen, borrowed largely,—Thomas Hariot,—whom Anthony Wood charges with infusing into Rawleigh's volume philosophical notions, while Rawleigh was composing his *History of the World*. But if Rawleigh's pursuits surpassed even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives, as Hume observed, we must attribute this to a 'Dr Robert Burrel, rector of Northwold in the county of Norfolk, who was a great favourite of Sir Walter Rawleigh, and had been his chaplain. All or the greatest part of the drudgery of Sir Walter's *History*, for criticisms, chronology, and reading Greek and Hebrew authors, were performed by him for Sir Walter.' Thus a simple fact, *when discovered*, clears up the whole mystery."*

I have given this extract at full length, as it seems to me to present a remarkable example how certainly superficial research leads to error, and error to injustice. Mr D'Israeli calls upon us to believe that Raleigh's *History of the World* is not his own work, but a compilation by Sergeant Hoskins, Ben Jonson, Thomas Hariot, and Dr Robert Burrel, in which the author merely interspersed the eloquent, the grand, and the pathetic passages. And on what proofs is this extravagant assertion—this remarkable discovery (so the author repeatedly announces it)—founded? The reader has seen these proofs: they exist in the extract from the *Curiosities of Literature* already quoted, the information in which is a mere transcript from an interesting passage in Oldys's *Life of Raleigh* (p. 449-453), which we have printed below; † with the important difference that this excel-

* *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. ii. (2d Series) p. 140-143.

† "He took no ordinary care to deserve these encomiums, for besides his own learning, knowledge, and judgment, which many would have thought sufficient for any undertaking, he, with that caution wherewith we have beheld so many others of his great enterprises tempered, would suffer no part of this history to pass his own hand before some of the most able scholars, whom he assembled, it seems, for this purpose, had debated the

lent writer dreams not for a moment of making it the foundation of any charge against Raleigh. Now let us mark the "facilis descensus" of error down which Mr D'Israeli hurries to his conclusions. He finds it stated by Oldys, that Raleigh in any difficulties as to phrase and diction consulted Sergeant Hoskins; therefore Sergeant Hoskins wrote part of the History of the World. He finds Ben Jonson, after he had probably put two or three bottles of the Hawthornden claret under his belt, informing Drummond, *in conversation*, that he had written for Raleigh *a piece of the Punic War*, which Sir Walter *altered* and placed in his History; therefore he at once assents to the conclusion, "that the best wits in England were employed in making this History." He had read in Oldys, that in the Mosaic or Oriental Antiquities, Raleigh would sometimes consult his friend Dr Robert Burrel; therefore to Burrel we owe all the Rabbinical lore, all the Jewish, and all the Grecian History. He knew from the same source that in chronology, geography, and other branches of mathematical science, Raleigh took the opinion of the learned Hariot, and the Earl of Northumberland's three Magi; and therefore, when the truth is known, all that has been thought wonderful in this literary mystery disappears. These men were amongst the best wits who composed the History, and instead of being, what the world has believed for so long a time, the author of this great work, Raleigh can only lay claim to the eloquent and pathetic passages interspersed in the volume. And this is the "Secret History of the History of the World," and we are called upon not only to assent to it, but to hail it as a discovery. To answer it seriously is impossible. Upon the

parts he was most doubtful of, and they most conversant in, before him. Thus in the Mosaic and Oriental Antiquities, or fainter and more remote footsteps of time, he would sometimes consult the learned *Dr Robert Burhill*. In all parts of chronology, geography, and other branches of mathematical science, he wanted not the opinions of the *learned Hariot*, and the Earl of Northumberland's three Magi, long his neighbours in the Tower; and wherever he scrupled any thing in the phrase or diction, he would hear the acute and ingenious *Sir John Hoskyns*, some time also resident in these confines, who viewed and reviewed the said History, as we are told, before it went to the press, and whom Ben Johnson, proud of calling others his sons, could gratify that humour in calling father." As his authority for this passage Oldys cites Anthony Wood's Account of Dr Robert Burrel and the lives of T. Hariot and Sir John Hoskins, all which are to be found in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

same, or rather on far more plausible grounds, might Pope be deprived of his fame as the translator of Homer; and every author who has availed himself of the assistance of his literary friends, might have his well-earned bays torn from his brows, and trampled in the dust.

But I am sorry to accuse Mr D'Israeli not only of injustice to Raleigh, but of some little disingenuousness. The whole of this secret history, as it is termed (with the exception of Ben Jonson's *elogé* upon himself), is, as we see, to be found in Oldys's *Life of Raleigh*, a work with which we know Mr D'Israeli is intimately acquainted. Why then does he claim it as a discovery of his own? "I shall give," says he (*Curiosities of Literature*, 2d Series, vol. ii. p. 102), "in the article *Literary Unions*, a curious account how Rawleigh's *History of the World* was composed; *which has hitherto escaped discovery.*" In a note indeed on the passage regarding the assistance given to Raleigh by Dr Burrel, he tells us that it is taken from a singular manuscript in the Lansdowne Collection, consisting, as he thinks, of extracts from those papers of Anthony Wood which this honest antiquary desired to be burned before his death. This little circumstance not only vindicates Raleigh, but exposes in a strong light the injustice with which both he and Anthony Wood have been treated by D'Israeli. Wood had patiently investigated the history of Raleigh's great work; and having weighed and digested his materials, he not only published in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* a life of Raleigh, but lives of Burrel, Hoskins, and Hariot. Before his death, however, he dreads that some portions of his manuscript materials which he had probably discovered to contain errors, and laid aside on this account, might mislead others; and he commands them to be burnt. Mr D'Israeli, however, finds a transcript of them; and in it is this passage relative to Dr Burrel, upon which he builds part of his secret history of Raleigh's great work. Thus poor Wood's dying request is defeated; that which he had probably detected to be error is repeated as truth; and Raleigh's fair fame is to be sacrificed to the vanity of being able to satisfy a passing wonder of the philosophic Hume. To render his conclusions more probable, he talks of the little time which Raleigh could allow to such erudite pursuits: Does he forget that this remarkable man, even in the most active period of his life, read four hours a-day, and carried his books with him on his voyages? He speaks of his published works being little connected with curious and remote inquiries: Does he remem-

ber Raleigh's Discourse on the Tenures before the Conquest,—his request to Sir Robert Cotton for Sigebert's Chronicle, Gervase of Tilbury, and any manuscripts which illustrate British Antiquities? He alludes to the several years he spent in the Tower: Is this an expression to be applied to an imprisonment of thirteen years? But it is ever thus with an anxiety to support a favourite hypothesis; it induces us either to forget or to disregard every fact with which it is incompatible. Mr D'Israeli is an agreeable writer, but subject to fits of affectation. He somewhat ungallantly goes out of his way to inform Miss Aikin that her Memoirs of James I. had been of no use to him, adding, that "secret history is rarely to be found in printed books." Yet assuredly he ought to be the last person to express contempt for printed books as "rarely containing secret history;" seeing that the whole of his secret history of Raleigh, which he describes as culled from manuscript sources, had, with two or three exceptions scarcely worthy of notice, been already given at full length in the printed works of Oldys, Cayley, and Birch. With an infirmity very incident to the antiquary, he has been working in the wake of these writers, referring to letters as manuscript which they had already published, and assuming in rather too complacent terms the tone of an original discoverer, whilst he was nothing more than an unconscious copyist. Did the limits of this note permit, it would be easy, not only to substantiate these charges, but also to show that in his estimate of Raleigh's character there is both injustice and exaggeration. The reader is here referred to a spirited and learned vindication of Raleigh's right to be considered the author of his own history, which will be found in Mr Bolton Corney's *Illustrations of the Curiosities of Literature*.

H.—Page 328.

Raleigh and the French Agent—Extracts from the Manuscripts in the State-paper Office.

THE nervous anxiety of the king to sift to the bottom the whole correspondence between Raleigh and the French agent, is apparent from Sir Thomas Wilson's Notes in the State-paper Office. Sir Walter constantly affirmed, what even the king, with all his suspicion, seems at last to have been convinced was the truth, that the offer of the French agent to favour his escape was voluntary, and unsought for on his part. The French government were aware of Raleigh's great talents, and

of his determined enmity to Spain. They knew that he was better acquainted than perhaps any other man in Europe with the weak points where that kingdom might be attacked, and they were anxious to secure for him an asylum in France. In Wilson's MS. Notes of one of his first conversations with Raleigh, preserved in the State-paper Office, and entitled "A relation of what hath passed and been observed by me since my coming to Sir Walter Rawley upon Friday, 11th of September." there is this passage: "Yesternight, having before upon many occasions let out some pieces of these things, that he might think it came hardly from me as from myself, * * he made me a long answer, and told me in gross what he had done before in retail: saying, 'Whatsoever is confessed by others, sure I am there is nothing can touch my fidelity to the king nor my country;' affirmed he never had any conference with the Frenchman but complimentary; knew not his name, nor the cause of his coming,—much less with the French agent, whom he knows not what man he is. Nor was it likely he could confer on any matters of secrecy, he being at all times under such watchful guard.

"2. As to the French ambassador before the voyage, 'twas true he came to see his ship, as other ambassadors, Venetian, and Savoyard, and the Spaniard also, came and rowed about it,—all being from pure curiosity.

"3. That as to his purpose of going into France, it was solely to shelter himself from danger, understanding the Spaniard did so press for his life, until the storm blew over, and either by the queen's majesty's means, or by that of his other friends, he might recover favour."

"5. For employment when he was there, he hoped he might do some service against the Spaniard if there were need, for that he knows him, and his force, and his weakness, and what not, as much as any man. And no man can know the Spaniard well but he must know his Indies well; and on this he would have run out at great length; but," says Wilson, "I drew him with the best unsuspected discretion I could to the points in hand; so he went forward alleging, that as to letters or messages about his escape, he never received any with any Frenchman or other, except Mannering (Manourie), brought by Stukely, to consent to his escape, and tormented him by sprinkling him with aquafortis, to make him seem diseased, that he might not be sent for to the court, and win time, who at last betrayed him, as all the world knows.

“ 6. That for plots or designs he had none, but to save his life by escaping somewhere : being alarmed by letters from some lords his friends, who wrote that the king would have strict justice upon his person. This made him plot a design to fly, and he knew no fitter place than France.”

Such are all Raleigh's answers, as reported by Sir Thomas Wilson, and nothing can appear more clear, open, or ingenuous. It did not, however, satisfy the king ; and it appears that Lady Carew was afterwards employed to interrogate Raleigh on the point without eliciting any thing farther. This lady's deposition is ludicrous enough. She saith that the agent informed her, if Sir Walter Raleigh would go into France he should be welcome. She asking what he should do there, he answered, “ Il mangera, il boyera, il fera bien.”—*Wilson's MS. Notes in State-paper Office.*

I.—Page 337.

Raleigh in the Tower—His Unpublished Manuscripts—Hampden.

SOME interesting particulars are to be gleaned from Sir Thomas Wilson's MS. Notes and Letters, preserved in the State-paper Office.

“ My first coming,” says Wilson, in a letter to Secretary Naunton, “ as Sir Robert Johnson, one of the officers of the Tower, told me by next morning, bredd a wonderment amongst them, some saying thereupon that now they thought Sir Walter Rawley's dayes would be short, as if I had been sent as a messenger of death. Himself, after a little speech had with him, told me that he doubted not but that I knew that his dayes were not long ; to which I protested the contrary, as well I might.

“ Upon his groaning and grievous complaining of his continual paines and infirmities, I enquired the causes. Raleigh then described his diseased state of body, arising, as he said, out of the applications of his physitian, Dr Guyn, and his brother, the king's apothecary, to remove a stich under his right side, which excoriated, exulcerated, and made holes in his side, which being at length closed, there remained in his side an exceeding swelling, which beginneth to imposthume, and ere long, as he thinks, will break ; besides which, his liver doth swell, which will soon cause that he shall need no other death. * *

“ Thus much,” he remarks, “ of the state of his body ; and why he may be thought to make it seem worse than it is, may

be easily gathered, that he would not be thought in his health to enterprise any such matter as perhaps he designeth."

In a letter of Raleigh's to his wife, which had been sent to Secretary Naunton for his perusal before it reached Lady Raleigh, there is this postscript, valuable as it relates to that treatise on the Art of War by Sea, which, in the wreck of his fortunes and of his personal property, has unfortunately been lost.

"There is in the bottom of the sedar-chest some paper books of mine. I pray make them up altogether, and send them me. The title of one of them is the Art of War by Sea. The rest are notes belonging unto it."

From a pathetic letter of Lady Raleigh's, written after her husband's death, to Lady Carew, it appears that Wilson, with much baseness, had continued his persecution against the family of this illustrious man, and had seized his books, manuscripts, and mathematical instruments. "I beseech your ladyship," says Lady Raleigh (*Jardine*, p. 496), "that you will do me the favor to intreat Sir Thomas Wilson to surcease the pursuit of my husband's books and library; they being all the land and living which he left to his poor child; hoping that he would inherit him in these only, and that he would apply himself to learning, to be fit for them: which request I hope I shall fulfil as far as in me lieth; Sir Thomas Wilson hath already fetched away all his mathematical instruments; one of which cost £100 when it was made. I was promised them all again, but I have not received one back. If there were any of these books not to be had elsewhere, God forbid that Sir Thomas Wilson should not have them for his Majesty's use; but they tell me that Byll the bookseller hath the very same."

We thus find that the dispersion and subsequent disappearance of Raleigh's manuscripts, which were very voluminous, is to be attributed to Sir Thomas Wilson, either pretending to act, or in reality acting, under the king's directions. As Wilson was at this time keeper of the State-paper Office, there is still a hope that the manuscripts of Raleigh may be found amongst some of the yet unexplored treasures of that great national collection. A fragment of his treatise on the Art of War by Sea is preserved in the British Museum, *Titus*, viii. 24, f. 217, which has hitherto escaped the research of any of his biographers. It is a skeleton autograph sketch of the treatise referred to in his letter to Lady Raleigh as "lying in the sedar-chest." Raleigh appears to have divided his subject into the

Art of War by Sea, as practised by the nations of antiquity and in modern times. His outline commences thus :

“ The antiquitie of sea-fights, and in what vessels. Of battles by sea in elder times, and of the admirals and commanders.

“ The sea-laws of the Rhodians, who were some time the masters of the Mediterranean Sea.

“ The dominion of the Tyrians and Carthaginians by sea.

“ The sea-fights of the Grecians and Carthaginians.

“ The sea-laws of the Romans, and their marine policies.

“ The laws of Oleron and of the admirals of France.

“ The admirals of England and Scotland.

“ The battles at sea between the English and French, and their manner of fight.

“ That the commodious and capable ports belonging to any prince or state give them the means to be masters of the sea.

“ The decay of ports in England and France.

“ What ports the King of Spain hath. How many of them are capable of good ships, and how many are bad.

“ Of the art of war by sea ; wherein is taught the advantage of fight, from the single fight of one ship with one, of two ships with one, of small fleets, of great fights, of the fight of galleys, of boarding and fighting with large [galleons]. What ships are fittest for fight, of what burden, and what quantity of ordnance, with all other things appertaining to that war.

“ Of the times of the yeare fit for invasions by sea.

“ Of the King of Spain's weakness in the West Indies, and how that rich mine may be taken from him.

“ Of his weakness in the East Indies, and what places he holds in both.

“ That the English, in the late war with Spain, have rather taught them than impoverished them ; and that all petty invasions are more profitable to the invaded than to the invader.

“ That the Turks may be easily beaten in the Mediterranean Sea, and that his force is far inferior to the force of the Christians, and that the Christians have been many times beaten by them, by their ignorance in sea-fight.

“ That it is not the trade which the English and Hollanders have that makes us and them so powerful by sea ; but it is our forcible trades that have enabled us, and which force the Hollanders have attained by the English ordnance. How trade and mariners may be maintained.

“ That there is nothing so much discovers the judgment of a prince as his enterprises.

“That all wisdom, endeavour, and valour of private men, is without success where God takes wisdom from the magistrate.”

This is the end of the paper. Then on another sheet are marked the chapters of the intended work from 1 to 15, which merely embrace the above matter somewhat differently divided.

I have been the more solicitous to give this sketch, under the author's own hand, of one of his greatest works now lost, as it has not been alluded to by any former biographer.

It is singular, also, that in the Oxford edition of his Works his journal of his last voyage has not been printed. It is quoted by Oldys, p. 500, and exists in Raleigh's handwriting in the British Museum.—Titus, viii. 24.

But what is most to be regretted is the loss of the notes and collections for the second and third unfinished volumes of his History of the World, to which he alludes in his preface as “hewn out,” but suddenly interrupted by the death of his patron, Prince Henry. There is a singular story told by Lloyd, in his Observations on the Life of Raleigh, which proves, if we may credit it, that the celebrated Hampden was in possession of an immense collection of Raleigh's manuscripts. “Master Hamden,” says this author, “a little before the wars, was at the charge of transcribing 3452 sheets of his [Raleigh's] manuscripts, as the amanuensis himself told me, who had his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant to deliver him the originals, and take his copies, as fast as he could write them.”*

The positive and minute terms in which this tale is told make it difficult for any one to disbelieve it; yet the total disappearance of these manuscripts renders it improbable.

K.—Page 344.

Inventory of Raleigh's Jewels and Trinkets from the State-paper Office.

“Inventory of such things as were found on the body of Sir Walter Rawleigh, Knycht, the 15 day of August 1618.”

THIS curious paper was sent to Sir Thomas Wilson, with the following note from Sir R. Naunton, Secretary of State:—

“I thought fit to send you this note of such things as were left in his hands, that you might see whether he has used them

* Lloyd's State Worthies p. 675.

in way of subornation, by your own discreet observation and right examination.”

“ Imprimis, in gould about 1^{lb}. in his purse and own custody.

Item, a Guiana idol of gold.

Item, a jacint seale set in gold, with a Neptune cut in it, with certain Guiana ——— tyed to it.

Item, a crymson ston set in gold.

Item, a loadstone in a scarlet purse.

Item, an auncient seale of his own armes in silver.

Item, one ounce of ambergris, left with him for his own use.

Item, a spleen stone, left with him for his own use.

Item, one wedge of fine gold at 22 carratts.

Item, one other stob of coarser gold.

Item, 63 gold buttons with sparkes of dimonds.

Item, a chain of gold with sparkes of dimonds.

Item, one diamond ring of nine sparkes.

Item, one gold whistle set with small diamonds.

Item, one ring with a diamond, which he weareth on his finger. (Then to this is added, in Secretary Naunton's hand, 'Given him by the late Queen.')

{ Item, one plott of Guiana and Nova (R——) and another of the river of Orenoque.

{ The description of the river Orenoque.

{ A plott of Panama.

{ A tryal of Guiana ore, with a description thereof.

{ A sprig jewel, &c.

{ Five assays of the silver myne.”

On the side of the inventory is this note of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower:—

“ All these particulars, noted with 5, and the rest crossed, excepting the picture, were delivered to Sir Lewis Stukely, sealed in a bagg, by the hands of Allen Apsley.

“ Item, one gold case of a picture, set with diamonds, which, according to Sir Walter's desire, is left apart with Mr Lieutenant.”

L.—Page 371.

Portrait of Raleigh.

THE portrait of Raleigh which faces the vignette to this volume, and does so much credit to the clear and spirited graver of Mr Horsburgh, is taken from an early impression of that exquisite print by Houbraken, in Dr Birch's *Illustrious Heads*. The original picture from which this artist took his engraving was, in Dr Granger's time (*Biographical History of England*, vol. ii. p. 25), in the possession of Miss Lennard of West Wickham, in Kent; but Houbraken only copied the head and bust.

It is a family piece, and belonged to the Carews of Beddington in Surrey, whence, by marriage with a daughter of the late Sir Stephen Lennard, Bart., it was removed to West Wickham. "By the inscription thereon," says Oldys, page 352, "partly still legible, it appears that the picture was painted in this last year of the queen above mentioned [when Raleigh was made governor of Jersey]; and that his son Walter, who is likewise here drawn by him, was then eight years of age. Further, in this picture, the stature of Sir Walter measures about six feet, is well shaped, and not too slender: he is apparelled in a white satin pinked vest, close-sleeved to the wrist, and over the body of it a brown doublet, finely flowered and embroidered with pearl; his belt of the same colour and ornament, in which hangs his sword; and on the other side, over the right hip, is seen the pommel of his dagger. In his hat, which he has on, is a little black feather, with a large ruby and pearl-drop at the bottom of the sprig in place of the button. His trunks or breeches, with his stockings and ribbon-garters, fringed at the end, are all white; and buff shoes tied with white ribbons. His son, standing under his left elbow, is fair and prettily featured, dressed in a blue silk jacket and trousers, guarded down with narrow silver galoon; stockings blue, and white shoes; gloves in the right hand, hat or cap in the left, and a silver sword by his side." How much is it to be regretted that Houbraken was not induced to engrave the whole picture! Another very interesting portrait of Raleigh has been engraved by Vertue, and is prefixed to Mr Oldys's edition of his History of the World. It is taken from an undoubted original preserved at that time (1736) in the family of Captain William Elwes, nephew of the Lady Elwes, who was the great-granddaughter of Sir Walter, and represents him in the famous suit of silver armour mentioned in the text, p. 201. In the collection of the same gentleman there is also an interesting picture of Lady Raleigh. "It is a half-length," says Oldys, p. 353, "painted on board; a high finished piece, in the laboured manner of those times, by some masterly hand; has been well kept, and is doubtless an original. It represents her a fair handsome woman, turned perhaps of thirty. She has on a dark-coloured hanging-sleeve robe, tufted on the arms; and under it a close-bodied gown of white satin flowered with black, with close sleeves down to her wrist; has a rich ruby in her ear, bedropt with large pearls, and a laced whisk rising above the shoulders:—her bosom uncovered, and a jewel hanging there-

on ; with a large chain of pearl round her neck, down to her waist."

Where this picture is now preserved I am not able to say ; but if known, it is to be wished that Mr Lodge would add it to his great collection. I widely, indeed, differ from this author in his estimate of many of his historical characters ; but all must allow that, in its exquisite engravings, and in the authenticity of the originals from which they are taken, his work is unrivalled.

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